

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM,

For APRIL, 1789.

Observations relative to a commercial treaty with Great Britain, &c. &c. written in 1784. By James M Henry, esq.

To the CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES.

NUMBER I.

PEACE is the moment when past injuries ought to be forgotten; the oblivious grave wherein all resentments should be deposited; the moment best fitted to internal arrangement, and for perpetuating by wise measures its peculiar advantages. America experiences by the peace a new situation; a momentous arrangement demands her attention; a commercial treaty with Great Britain, that may ascertain the interests of the two nations so as to obviate future dissensions. In the adjustment of this business, difference of opinion must be expected; nor should every movement of the parties be declaimed against, as tending to excite to groundless resentments.

That our ardour for obtaining an honourable treaty of commerce may not be checked, or false resentments encouraged, is the object of the following observations. Great Britain has taken her ground; her writers have displayed the ministerial banners, and much ability has been shewn in levelling the commercial consequence of this country. Even among ourselves she has her advocates, and her strength and riches are once more marshalled against our weakness and poverty.

A writer in the New York Independent Journal, who signs Cincinnati, is pleased to inform us, that we might have had an advantageous treaty with Great Britain, for that Mr. Hartley was "authorized" by the present administration "to offer, and did offer, to secure to our vessels the privilege of carrying war produce to the British islands and plantations, under the restriction of not carrying to Great Britain, or the dominions of the British crown," but

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that the treaty was lost to the united States by our commissioners objecting to this privilege. Cincinnati adds, that the fact is confirmed by the dispatches of the commissioners; I must, however, be forgiven, should I distrust the faithfulness of the memory of this writer, in case he has read the dispatches. I know a report is wandering abroad, that such an offer was made to our commissioners; but till now I have not heard a single person acknowledge from whence he had it, or where it was to be found. It appeared to me like the accounts we had in war of Russian armaments, and entitled to no greater respect. That Mr. Hartley was authorized to talk generally about this privilege, in the course of a negotiation meant to be fruitless, and that our commissioners endeavoured to fix him to certain points, by an attempt to enlarge it, was proper and may be true; but, that he was empowered to stipulate the privilege, and that our commissioners unconditionally rejected it, is improbable, and not to be admitted.

But I hope we are qualified to acquit our commissioners, without trusting to assertions which neither party can support, for neither party, I presume, is able to produce the dispatches.

1st. On the 11th of April, 1784, "a committee of the West India planters and merchants," preferred "a representation to his majesty's ministers," in which the privilege in question is stated as essential to the prosperity of the islands. The ministry viewing this as a matter of great moment, required six weeks for its consideration, at the end of which they informed the committee—that it was a case of vast moment—that they could not decide.

2d. Mr. W. Eden, in his speech on Mr. W. Pitt's bill, "for the provisional establishment and regulation of trade and intercourse, between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the united States of North America,"

Q 4

says, "I shall intreat the house to advert particularly to the clause which authorises a free import and export between the united states and the British West India Islands. The united states, by this article* will have infinite advantages from which our loyal colonies remain excluded; they will have advantages even against Great Britain and Ireland, from their proximity of situation to the islands, cheapness of labour, and frequency of voyages. Besides, they will supply our islands with all manufactures now sent from these kingdoms; for instance, the hat trade, for which they possess all the materials; the oil trade, spermaceti candles, provisions, fish, &c. The loss of some of these branches will peculiarly affect Ireland. But the worst was still to come, they will gradually, and in a course of years, possess themselves of the carrying trade. Thus the kingdom would gradually lose a great nursery of its seamen, and all the means of manning ships in times of emergency, and would thus decline and languish during peace, and be helpless and dependent during war." This speech, and the ascendancy of the present administration, triumphed, and defeated a bill that

NOTE.

* Article. "And be it enacted, that all goods and merchandize, of the growth and produce of the territories now composing the united states of America, which, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, were importable into his majesty's islands, colonies, and plantations in America, may be lawfully imported into the same, in British ships, or in ships belonging to his majesty's plantations, or in ships now the property of British subjects, and duly registered within three months after the passing of this act, or in ships or vessels belonging to the said united states, upon the terms, and in the manner heretofore used; and that it shall and may be lawful for the ships or vessels of the said united states, to export from his majesty's said islands, colonies, or plantations in America, to any port or place of the said united states, all such goods and merchandize, as were, in the year 1775, lawfully exportable to the same."

had roused and agitated the whole capacities of parliament during a period of eleven weeks.

31. To these proofs may be added the irresistible testimony of a pamphlet, said to be composed under the auspices of the cabinet, to interest the nation and give weight to their system.† This pamphlet was written during Mr. Hartley's negotiation with our commissioners; while the honourable Mr. Pitt's bill was yet depending in parliament; appeared on the 6th of June, and taught the committee of West India planters and merchants the answer they were to expect from Lord North on the 7th. It asserts, that "the solid power of supplying the wants of America, of receiving her produce, and of waiting her convenience, belongs almost exclusively to our own merchants," that England's "natural impatience to pre-occupy the American market should perhaps be rather checked than encouraged"—that "no treaty at present is necessary"—that England "trades with several very considerable nations, without commercial treaties." It considers the privilege in question as a wild fallacy of imagination—that "would have affected their most essential interests in every branch of commerce, and to every part of the world, and that the West India planters would be the only subjects of Great Britain who could derive any benefit, however partial, from their open intercourse directly with the American states, and indirectly with the rest of the world." It concludes—"the navigation act gave us the trade of the world; if we alter that act, by permitting any state to trade with our islands, or by suffering any state to carry into this country any produce but its own, we desert the navigation act, and sacrifice the marine of England. But if the principle of the navigation act is properly understood, and well followed, this country may still be safe and great. The ministers will find, when the country understands the question, that the principle of the navigation act

NOTE.

† Observations on the commerce of the united states with Europe and the West Indies.

must be kept entire, and that the carrying trade must not in any degree be given up. The ministers will see the precipice on which they stand; any neglect or mismanagement in this point, or abandoned policy to gain a few votes, will inevitably bring on their own downfall, even more deservedly than the miserable peace brought on that of their predecessors; and as the mischief will be more wanton, their fall should be more ignominious. Their conduct on this occasion ought to be the test of their abilities and good management, and ought to decide the degree of confidence there should be placed in them in future. This country has not found itself in a more interesting situation; it is now to be decided whether we are to be ruined by the independence of America, or not. The peace in comparison was a trifling object; and if the neglect of one interest more than another deserves impeachment, surely it will be the neglect of this.*

Is more ponderous evidence necessary to prove that our commissioners could not obtain from the present British administration, what we are told, their dispatches assure us, Mr. Hartley was authorised to offer, and did offer; and shall we not be indulged to conclude, that if the ministerial negotiation meant aught, it was a pause of recollection, an interval for scheme, intrigue, and discovery?

Having acquitted the British ministry of all blame in not making a treaty, much this writer fears that the measures of some states for obtaining one are wrong, and much he apprehends that they cannot be right, for much he insinuates that our legislators are ignorant, and that America is too dependent on Europe, to take decisive measures in her own favour.

America, it seems, is again to be tried in the severe school from which she has escaped. At home, we are to be alarmed with suggestions of our nothingness, and in England we are to be held up as almost the exclusive property of her merchants—we are “not to be feared as a nation” and should be contented with the proclamations of St. James’s, as the rule of

our conduct: be thankful that our tobacco may be landed in a few places, and received “under his majesty’s locks:” and rejoice that the king has graciously condescended to direct his own vessels and his own people to supply us with the sweets of his own islandst. Is the mad avarice of nations never to end; is the superstition of past years to enter into the creed of the present; is the dependence of America still to be the favourite folly of Great Britain; is her diminished glory to be utterly extinguished by vain attempts to restore its original brightness?

Whoever has attended to the movements of the British ministry, must have perceived that they build their expectations of leading us to their own terms, and have invigorated the hopes of the nation, by a presumed want of unity in our councils—a factitious display of the superior credit of their merchants, and cheapness of their manufactures, and the perfect reliance of this country upon these; artfully concealing the absolute dependence of England upon the united states for the consumption of her manufactures, and prosperity of her West India islands. I shall at least discharge a debt I owe to my country, by endeavouring to shew, that America is in a situation to enforce a liberal treaty—that we should not depend on proclamations, or commit the growing greatness of our commerce to the uncertain and fallacious workings of a negotiation, without helping it forward by measures declaratory of our intentions and sovereignty—and that some public measures which have been taken for this purpose, so far from deserving censure, claim the most implicit imitation. The piece signed Cincinnati will serve as a text, and I shall hope for a candid hearing in a future number.

March 12th, 1784.

(Number II. in our next.)

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Three letters on the trade and commerce of America. P. 261.

LETTER III.

IN my last I endeavoured to point out the insufficiency of the treaties we have at present subsisting between

NOTE.

+ See the proclamations, 16 June, 2 July, and 5 November.

NOTE.

* Observations.

us and foreign nations, "for the purpose of founding the advantages of commerce upon reciprocal utility and the just rules of free intercourse:" the reciprocity, in this instance, may with justice be said to be all on one side.

It may be asked, what can have induced our commissioners to be so inconsiderate as to enter into treaties so inadequate, and so short of what we might have expected? This is a question much more easily asked, than answered. There are but three inducements that I can think of, that seem to me to have the smallest probability of truth in them, viz. ignorance, levity, or treachery. Ignorance in not knowing better; levity in not attending to the business they were about; or treachery in betraying the most essential interests of their country, which were committed to their charge: either of which, if true is sufficient to damn them forever as political negotiators, or as statesmen, in the opinion of the public. For my part, I cannot help thinking we should have been just as well off, if we had had no commercial treaties at all. We should have been upon as good a footing as we are at present, and we have no reason to think they would have been under any temptation to have placed us upon a worse. Let us prosecute this subject a little further, and then we shall be able to see what will be the consequence of the trade with Europe continuing upon its present footing.

If America continues to import from England and other European countries, for her own use and consumption, and also for re-exportation, or to send abroad again to other countries, by which she might draw a balance back again, of a greater value of goods and merchandize than the exports for the consumption of those countries; one of two things must happen—either she must remain greatly indebted to those countries, or else she must find some method of making a remittance of the balance in money. Now there is, in general, no surer maxim in trade, than that we are most enriched by those countries which pay us the greatest sums upon the advance; while, on the contrary, we are most impoverished by those which carry away the greatest balance from us. The only instance I know of to the

contrary, is that above hinted, where a greater balance is gained by re-exportation.

Another maxim in trade is, that that trade is the most valuable which contributes most to the employment and subsistence of our people, and to the improvement of our lands. The trade, therefore, which lessens most the subsistence of our people and the value of our lands, must be most detrimental. A fourth maxim is, that that country which does not sell us so many manufactures as it buys goods from us, contributes the whole of the value of the balance to the employment and subsistence of our people, and to the product of our lands.

But fifthly, the country which sells us more than it buys from us, takes the whole value of the balance from the subsistence of our people, and from the landed interest.

Upon the whole, therefore, this maxim seems to be settled, viz. that the balance, which is either paid or received by means of our trade with any country, is the only sure maxim by which we are to judge of the value of our trade with that country, or, in other words, every particular trade contributes just so much to the subsistence of our people, and to the improvement of our lands, as the balance it pays to us for the greater quantity of goods we sell than buy, and it deducts so much from both, for the greater quantity of manufactures we buy than sell, as the balance we are to pay amounts to.

If this is the case, I think there is no one who can be at a loss to judge of the value of the trade with England, as it is carried on at present; for there can be none so ignorant, as not to know that the balance of trade between England and America is so strong against America, and so much in favour of England, that it has carried off almost every shilling of gold and silver that was to be found in America, and that if it continues much longer, there will not be one shilling left.

In this dilemma what is to be done? Various are the remedies that have been thought of to prevent the exportation of money. And the measures that have been pursued in some countries, have been directly contrary to

those that have been practised in others. It has sometimes happened, that opposite measures have been used in the same country without any differing circumstances to occasion them; for instance:

Some countries have raised the denomination of the coin, while others have lowered it. Some have allayed it, in order to lessen its intrinsic value; while others, who had allayed it before, have refined it. Some have prohibited the exportation of money, under the severest penalties; while others, by law, have allowed it to be exported. Some, thinking thereby to add to the quantity of the money, have obliged merchants and other to bring home a certain quantity of bullion, in proportion to the other goods they brought home with them. Most countries have tried some or all of those means; and likewise others of a similar nature. Some have tried contrary measures at one time, from what they had used immediately before, from an opinion that since the methods already pursued had not the desired effect, the contrary would. But what have the people of America been doing? They have been establishing banks, issuing notes payable in specie.

This is a device, whatever the original intention of instituting the bank may have been, than which, I will venture to say, it is not in the ingenuity of man to invent another more directly calculated to facilitate the exportation of money.

A citizen of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, December 21, 1785.



Letter on the public and private debt of America—the means of facilitating the payment thereof—and converting it into a source of wealth and prosperity for the united states. By sir John Dalrymple, bart.

THE Americans owe at present four millions sterling of debts to British subjects; various plans have been proposed to effectuate payment—they all fail in this respect, that they suggest no provision for putting the Americans in a capacity to pay. The chief use of history is to shew men what they are to follow and what to

avoid, by the experience of their ancestors, and therefore submit the following plan, founded on mr. Montague's* principles, to the consideration of both countries. America is now in a similar situation with that of England, during the first year of king William's reign, in four respects.

1st. She owes an external debt of four millions to British subjects, in the same way England owed five millions to her soldiers and seamen who were mostly abroad.

2dly. She owes an internal public debt, contracted during the war; England owed a similar debt, but with this difference, that the American debt is small in comparison of what the English debt was.

3dly. America requires annual supplies of taxes to carry on her government; England required them also; but with this difference, that the supplies required by America, at present, to carry on her government, are a trifle, whereas the demands of England were great, because there was a great war to maintain.

Lastly, America has but little coin; England at that time had not much, and yet had vast demands upon her for to carry on her commerce, to pay the interest of her debts, to maintain an expensive civil government, about forty thousand seamen, and about eighty thousand troops, and to subsidize foreign princes. The supposed dishonesty of Americans to their British creditors, or rather perhaps their real inability to do what they wish to do, arises from their want of coin, or of a substitute for coin; for, to expect them to pay a great external and internal debt, and carry on their government without coin, or a substitute for coin, that is, to pay without an instrument of payment, is one vision; and to expect America with her poverty, to pay the principal sum of her external and internal debt, when England, France, and Holland, with all their wealth, cannot,

NOTE.

* The mr. Montague, here alluded to, was chancellor to the exchequer, A. D. 1696, and who, with the assistance of sir Isaac Newton, and mr. Locke, established the present system of the British funds.

is another vision. But if the American states, (with or without the intervention of British commissioners, to attend to the interest of British creditors in the liquidation of their debts) will apply mr. Montague's principles and practice to the present condition of their country, they will find the remedy for the evil, even in the evil itself, for the benefit of the British creditors; and they will find a certain good to spring out of that remedy, for the benefit of America herself.

Let the American states, in the first place, provide a fund of taxes, sufficient to pay more than the interest of their internal and external debts, and sufficient also to pay either the sums annually required to carry on their government, or the interest of a sum borrowed for carrying it on, if they have not taxes sufficient to raise an annual supply for that purpose; but which borrowing will not be necessary, except for a few years at the beginning, till public credit shall be established; because, after that period, it will be the fault of America herself, if she does not pay off debts, instead of increasing them. The states should, in the second place, convert the above debts (whether internal or external, or new borrowings, to carry on for a few years their government) into public transferable securities, and make provision for the exact application of those taxes to the payment of the interest of the debts, in the same way that mr. Montague did. Lastly, In order to give currency to these transferable securities (or, to give them a more simple name, to this paper money,) it should be received in payment of taxes to the state, and of borrowings by the state, in the same way as was provided for by mr. Montague.

Objection. It may be objected, that it is unjust to make the American public pay the debts of American private persons; that the American public will be a loser by the bargain, and therefore will never agree to it.

Answer. Public bodies, like private persons, submit to hardships, when they are to receive benefits from them. The states will agree, if any way can be fallen upon to make the public a gainer in the end, and to save it from loss in the mean time. Now the way to compass the first of these

ends, is, 1st, for the American states, in return for the transferable securities which they give for the payment of the interest of the debts of the British creditors, to be put in the place of those creditors, so as to enable the states to recover the debts in America; and 2dly, that these debts, as fast as recovered, shall be converted into a fund, to make a solid bottom for a bank of circulation, like that of England, to be the property of the American public: and which bank will gradually extend itself, for the accommodation of public and private credit, as they shall extend themselves, because the debts recovered will be gradually falling into it.

With regard to ways of saving the public of America from loss, or at least from a considerable loss, there are many. Some of the debts could be called in instantly. Securities for the payment of the interest annually, and of the principal by instalment, might be taken on the real estates of others, or upon the personal estates of them and their friends, when they had no real estates. To ease the debtors, and yet to give benefit to the public, payment of many of the debts might be taken in the produce of the country; for example, in the tobacco of Chesapeake-bay, and the rice of the Carolinas; and these sold to foreign nations, with the stamp of the public upon them, to vouch the goodness of their quality, would acquire an additional value. In order to obtain the end of easing the debtor, and getting benefit to the state still farther, that produce might be exported upon a premium by the state, to respectable bodies of merchants in Britain, to be received for behoof of the British proprietors in the American funds. This last is not difficult to be executed. All the tobacco received in France and Spain, is consigned to a few hands; and the diamonds of the Brazils go to one house in Lisbon. But above all, England might give advantage to American trade, without hurting her own, to make up the public loss, and reward the public honour of America: these are arrangements, which could be contrived in half a day, by one who has shewn that he can conduct the lightning of the skies, and who, by contriving these arrangements,

would crown the good he has done to his own, and make up for the mischief he has done to this country. Such mutual concessions would tend to reconcile the humours of men to each other, whose interests in spite of those humours must long be the same. The advantages which would redound to America from adopting such views, are the following :

1st. Her empire of dominion, and her empire of commerce (for they must be blind indeed, who do not see how immense this last empire must be, if honour be made its basis) will start from the noblest of all goals, the goal of public honour, and of national fidelity of character ; circumstances which support the public credit of England, and the private credit of the Spanish nation, more than any other. At present the ships of all countries stand aloof from the coasts of America, but they would then press forward to reach them. He must be a bad merchant, indeed, who does not see, that a little character is worth a little money.

2^{dly}. America would be supplied with an immediate substitute for her want of coin, just as England was by Mr. Montague's scheme, and this relief, by the vigour which it always gives to industry and trade, would supply America with coin, just as coin was drawn into England by Mr. Montague's scheme. No bank can stand without an equivalent security within itself, for the notes which it issues. The debts recovered and sent to the bank, would form that security ; and then the bank, either established at one station, or, which would be much better, divided into three or four branches, placed at great stations of America for the sake of greater convenience to business, would give new wings to the circulation of private credit, and also to public credit ; for, supported by the state, the bank would for its own interest support the state. The consequence of the firm establishment of public and private credit, obtained by those operations, would be, and at no very distant period, that foreign nations would throw their money into the public funds of America with as little fear, as they do into those of their own country. And the consequence of that confidence again

would be, that British merchants possessed of property, in the public funds of America, would make payment often in that property, and trade often upon it ; America would remit her payments almost always in her own produce, and carry on her trade, and take her station high in the rank of nations, either for defence or offence, on the money of other countries.



A series of letters on the establishment of the worship of the Deity, as essential to national happiness. P. 268.

By an American.

Plusque boni mores,

Quam bonae leges, valent. Tacitus.

LETTER III.

Dear Sir,

MY heart is warmed with lively gratitude to the Author of my nature, that it hath pleased him to give me existence in this enlightened period of the world, and in this part of it rather than another ; where the events of an age have been crowded into a few years ; and such advantages for happiness put into our hands as are withheld from the rest of the human race. From this eminence, we may look down the distant vale of time, and see myriads of future generations happy or miserable, according to our improvement of present opportunities.

Americans are now erecting the august edifice of an empire ; may every material be useful or ornamental ; in this house, family government can be maintained securely and flourish only on the basis of family religion. Some liberal establishment, to uphold a sense of religion, and the worship of the Deity, seems wanting.

To secure the advantages which religion derives to civil government, and to diffuse, extensively, harmony and happiness throughout these states, allow me to propose a general and equitable tax, collected from all the rateable members of a state, for the support of the public teachers of religion, of all denominations within the state. Some of the states of Germany and of the United Netherlands, it is said, support public worship in this mode. Their clergy draw their stipends from the public treasury. Let a moderate poll tax be added to a tax

of a specified sum on the pound, and levied on all the subjects of a state, and collected with the public tax, and paid out to the public teachers of religion, of the several denominations, in proportion to the number of polls or families belonging to each respectively, or according to their estates.

Many advantages, I conceive, would arise to the community, as well as evils be prevented by this mode. The support of a public institution would be equitably borne. It is necessary to the public happiness, then ought all the members of the state to contribute towards its support. And this method would be equitable and expeditious. In some of the states there are perhaps one-third, or one-half of the inhabitants, who do little or nothing towards the support of public worship. The proportion of these being collected, would be a relief to those societies on whom the support of religion now falls. The salaries of ministers being at a medium about the same as they now are; those places, which support public worship by a rate or contribution, would have less to pay, by one-third or one-half, because the tax would draw a revenue from such as now do nothing towards it.

Were I living at the distance of twenty or fifty miles from public worship, yet ought I to pay to the support of an institution which secures my property and life, by diffusing among my fellow-citizens a sense of moral obligation, on the same principle on which I contribute to the support of civil government, because both are necessary to the order and happiness of the society of which I am a member.

The support of the public teachers of religion, by a tax, would tend greatly to promote the peace of towns and societies; it would extinguish the ardour of the founders of new sects, and their weak or mercenary abettors; it would prevent separations, except upon the purest principles; the powerful motive of saving a penny or two in the pound, would cease to operate, because their tax will continue still the same, go where they will. Thus the interest and happiness of the people would be greatly advanced.

It was a remark made by our illustrious chief, at the close of the late war, "that a retrospect of the scenes through which we had passed, from the commencement to the conclusion of the war, was sufficient to convince infidelity itself of the existence of a supreme governing providence." What returns more acceptable than those of gratitude can we render to God, who hath given us birth and existence, as a nation, and that by providing for the public worship of him, who hath said of nations, as well as of individuals, "they who honour me, will I honour."

The assembly of Maryland have given a most worthy example, and done themselves lasting honour, by their resolutions on this subject. You have seen them; but suffer me to repeat them, and close this letter.

In assembly, January 8th, 1783.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this house, that the happiness of the people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, depend upon morality, religion, and piety; and that these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the public worship of Almighty God.

Resolved, That it is highly necessary, and the indispensable duty of the legislature of the state, to discourage vice and immorality, to enact a law for the support and encouragement of the christian religion, as the best means of manifesting our gratitude to God for his past mercies and deliverances, and procuring his blessing and favour upon all our future endeavours for the honour, prosperity, and happiness of this country.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, agreeably to the constitution and form of government, that it is proper for the general assembly to lay a general and equal tax on all the citizens of this state, of all denominations of christians, (as far as their present circumstances will permit) for the support of the ministers of the gospel of all societies of christians within this state, without any preference or discrimination.

By order,

W. HARWOOD, clerk.
Connecticut, September 1786.
[LETTER IV. in our next.]

Letter respecting wild garlic.

MANKIND are under perpetual obligations to each other, both to receive and communicate useful knowledge. How apt are we, through ignorance, to despise the gifts of heaven, and look upon many things as evils, which are in themselves real blessings? Such is the wild garlic, which the farmers generally deprecate as the most destructive evil both to their lands and wheat crops. Whereas the experiment of the present year, will, I hope, convince them of their mistake.

I shall not trouble the public with a dissertation upon the medical virtues of the garlic plant, which spontaneously mixes itself with our food, and, when taken into the human system, may be productive of the most valuable effects; but shall point out the easiest method of separating it from the wheat, that has ever been discovered: an object truly worth the attention of the farmer—as being so much the object of his wish and in itself more valuable than every mechanical invention for that purpose. I shall give you the history, as I had it from a gentleman of Caroline county, Maryland, who made the experiment, as well as many of his neighbours, with satisfactory success.

When the garlic has fairly formed its head, put your sheep into your wheat-field; they will go in the furrows, avoid doing the smallest injury to the wheat, and carefully glean the garlic out of it. In the morning they will take their stations as so many reapers, and, like them, move on in constant and gradual procession, till they have reached the end; and then, if satisfied, they will lie down beside the fence, till the heat of the day is over, and in the evening, repeat their task. And thus, if you portion your number of sheep to the size of your field, though one half appeared to be garlic, at their entry, in ten days they will not leave perhaps an hundred heads of garlic in the whole field, and in that time not have injured one head of wheat.

The Creator hath made nothing in vain! Here it is evident, that the evil so much complained of, is turned into an advantage. Learn, then, farmers, instead of attempting to erad-

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cate the garlic out of your lands, to improve the bounteous gift; and what you have hitherto looked upon as the bane of agriculture, acknowledge as a providential blessing! What a rich fund of wealth here opens to your view, both for food and raiment. It is well known, that sheep pastured upon garlic, bear better fleeces both in quantity and quality.

Foreign commodities, particularly the woollens of Great Britain, have nearly wrought the ruin of this country. But may we not hope, under the auspices of the federal government, that we shall yet be a rich and happy people! A spirit of encouraging domestic manufactures seems to pervade all ranks. Let us then not supinely neglect the advantages we enjoy. We have, like the prodigal spoken of in the gospel, foolishly squandered away our substance in following fashionable pride; we are now on the brink of distress, but still we have it in our power to escape the danger; heaven itself doth point out to us the remedy. Let us encourage home-manufactures. Where there is a great abundance of garlic, let us raise more sheep, and in so doing, we shall render a greater benefit to ourselves and to society—our property will be more secure, and we will have it more in our power “to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.”

W. M. K.

Mordington mills, April 1, 1789.

Constitution of the New York manufacturing society.

WHEREAS a considerable fund hath been raised by subscription, for the purpose of establishing useful manufactures in the city of New York, and furnishing employment for the honest industrious poor.

The subscribers do therefore associate upon the following terms.

Art. I. The society shall be known and distinguished by the name of “The New York Manufacturing Society.”

Art. II. The stock of the society shall be divided into shares of ten pounds; and upon payment of that sum to the treasurer, he shall deliver a certificate for the several shares so paid for, which shall be evidence of 3 R

the interest which the person, in whose favour the certificate is given, has in the funds of the society.

Art. III. Every owner of one or more shares, to the number of four, shall have one vote; of five shares, and less than ten, three votes; of ten shares, and less than twenty, five votes; of twenty shares, eight votes; and one vote for every ten shares above twenty.

Art. IV. All shares shall be transferable, such transfer to be made by the proprietor, his or her lawful representative, in the presence of the treasurer, and by delivering to him the certificate thereof; and taking out a new certificate in the name of the person to whom such share is transferred.

Art. V. The directors shall call a meeting of the society annually, on the third Wednesday in March, at such place as they shall think proper (giving not less than six days previous notice thereof in two of the public newspapers); the members present shall constitute a quorum, decide all questions by a majority of votes, and elect by ballot, a treasurer, and twelve directors, to manage their concerns for one year.

Art. VI. The board of directors shall have the disposition of the funds of the society, with power to receive further subscriptions, at such rates as they may think proper, to carry into effect the designs of the institution; shall determine the manner of doing business; appoint a secretary, the necessary clerks, agents and servants; and shall lay before the society at the annual meeting, a general statement of their proceedings and accounts, which statement and accounts shall be lodged with the treasurer for the examination and inspection of any of the subscribers, for at least ten days prior to such annual meeting.

Art. VII. The board of directors shall meet, statedly, on the fourth Wednesday of March, June, September, and December, and oftener as occasion may require; seven of whom shall be a quorum.

Art. VIII. The directors shall have power to call a meeting of the society for the purpose of filling up vacancies in their own body; and in all other cases where they may deem it necessary, upon giving not less than

six days notice in two of the public newspapers.

Art. IX. No person shall be eligible to serve in the office of director, treasurer, or secretary, unless he be a subscriber.

Art. X. The treasurer shall give security for the faithful discharge of his trust, to such amount and to such person or persons as the directors shall deem proper.



Epitome of the present state of the union.

New Hampshire,

WHICH is one hundred and eighty miles in length, and sixty in breadth, contained, according to an enumeration in 1787, one hundred and two thousand inhabitants—is attached to the federal government—engaged in organizing her militia, already the best disciplined of any in the union—encouraging the domestic arts—and looking forward to the benefits which will result from the operations of the new constitution. New Hampshire, from her local advantages, and the hardihood of her sons, may anticipate essential benefits from the operation of equal commercial regulations.

Massachusetts, four hundred and fifty miles in length, and one hundred and sixty in breadth, contained, according to an enumeration in 1787, three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants. Since the tranquility of the state was restored by the suppression of the late insurrection, the whole body of the people appear solicitous for the blessings of peace and good government. If any conclusion can be drawn from elections for the federal legislature, this state has a decided majority in favour of the new constitution. The great objects of commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and the fisheries, appear greatly to engage the attention of Massachusetts. Fabrication of cotton, coarse woollens, linens, duck, iron, wood, &c. is prosecuting with success—and by diminishing her imports, and increasing her exports, she is advancing to that rank and importance in the union, which her extent of territory—her resources—and the genius and enterprise of her citizens entitle

her to—and although the collision of parties, at the moment of election, strikes out a few sparks of animosity, yet, the decision once made, the “calumet of peace” is smoked in love and friendship—“and, like true republicans, they acquiesce in the choice of the majority.”

Connecticut, eighty-one miles in length, and fifty-seven in breadth, contained, agreeably to a census in 1782, two hundred and nine thousand, one hundred and fifty inhabitants. Its soil is fertile: this truly republican state is pursuing her interest in the promotion of manufactures, commerce, agriculture, and the sciences. She appears to bid fair, from the peaceable, loyal, and federal character of the great body of her citizens—from the enterprise of her men of wealth, and other favourable circumstances, to attain to a great degree of opulence, power, and respectability in the union.

New York, three hundred and fifty miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, contained, agreeably to a census in one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven inhabitants. This State appears to be convulsed by parties—but the crisis is at hand, when, it is hoped, that the “hatchet” will be buried. Exertions on one side are making for the re-election of governor Clinton, and on the other for the introduction of the hon. judge Yates, to the chair—both parties appear sanguine as to their success. It is ardently to be wished, that temper and moderation may preside at the elections; and there can be no doubt of it, as that freedom, for which we fought and triumphed, depends so essentially upon a free choice. It is greatly regretted, that this respectable and important member of the federal republic should not be represented in the most honourable senate of the united states. *New York*, however, is rising in her federal character, and in manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial consequence—Evidence in her federal elections—her plans for promoting manufactures, and the increase of her exports.

New Jersey, one hundred and sixty miles in length, and fifty-two in breadth, contained, by a census in

1784, one hundred and forty-nine thousand four hundred and thirty-five inhabitants. This state is at present tranquil, although lately agitated by a very extraordinary contested election—which by a timely interference of the executive, appears to be settled. The inhabitants of this state are warmly attached to the new constitution—the blessings of peace, an equal trade, and good government, being properly prized by them. The arts and sciences are objects of importance in this state, and many of her sons rank high in the republic of letters.

Pennsylvania, two hundred and eighty-eight miles in length, and one hundred and fifty-six in breadth; by a census in 1787, contained three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants. This extensive and truly respectable state, is making great proficiency in her manufactures, agriculture, arts, and commerce. Her attachment to the new constitution is unequivocal, and with a consistency highly honorary to her national character, she has lately made an effort to conform her state constitution to that of the union. The public buildings in the city of Philadelphia, have been respectfully offered for the accommodation of congress. Theatrical exhibitions are now permitted by law—and the city has been incorporated: experience will determine the eligibility of the two latter transactions.

Delaware, ninety-two miles in length, and sixteen in breadth, by a census in 1787, contained thirty-seven thousand inhabitants. This state, though circumscribed in its limits, derives great importance from its rank in the union—attached to the new constitution, and having the honour to take the lead in its adoption, there is no doubt of its giving efficacy to its righteous administration.

Maryland, one hundred and thirty-four miles in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth, contained by a census taken in 1782, two hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred and thirty inhabitants. From its favourable situation in the union, this state bids fair for prosperity, wealth, and eminence. Warmly attached to the new constitution, and enjoying a central situation, the publications there have teemed

with tempting inducements to congress, to make Baltimore the seat of the federal legislature.

Virginia, seven hundred and fifty eight miles in length and two hundred and twenty-four in breadth, by a census taken in 1782, contains five hundred and sixty-seven thousand six hundred and fourteen inhabitants. From the natural ardour of her sons in the cause of freedom, she is frequently convulsed in her elections, and has been torn by factions. Possessing an extensive territory, and a vast income, her funds are placed on a respectable footing; but as her representation in the federal legislature is decidedly attached to the union, and the new constitution—there is no doubt but that she will see her interest and glory finally connected with a few temporary sacrifices upon the principles of mutual concession.

South Carolina is two hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty-five in breadth; and contains, by a census in 1787, one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. She is an important member of the union, and has appeared lately to vibrate between opposing sentiments. Her attachment to national measures, we doubt not, will evidently discover itself when all tender laws and pine barrens shall be done away. The prohibition of the importation of slaves, and the provision lately made for the reduction of the foreign debt, are federal traits—add to these, that their electors have given an unanimous vote for his excellency general Washington, as president of the united states—by which the memorable circumstance is authenticated, that the voice of the whole continent has once more called our Fabius Maximus to rescue our country from impending ruin.

Georgia, six hundred miles in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth—by a census in 1787, contained ninety-eight thousand inhabitants. This state is completing her federal character by conforming her state constitution to that of the union—and being the youngest branch of the family—and a frontier—she will doubtless experience the supporting and protecting arm of the federal government.

Foreign States.

Rhode Island is sixty-eight miles in length, and forty in breadth, and, by a census taken in 1783, contained fifty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six inhabitants. This state has again refused to accede to an union with her sister states, and is now wholly estranged from them; and from appearances, will long continue so, unless the measure of the iniquity of her “know ye” gentry should be speedily filled up—or the delusion, which has so long infatuated a majority of her citizens, should be removed— anxious of enjoying the protection of the union, the inhabitants of Newport, Providence, and other places, are determined to sue for its protection, and to be annexed to Massachusetts or Connecticut. This dismemberment of the state, it is to be desired, may be prevented by her being wholly grafted into that stock, from whence, through blindness, she has been broken off.

North Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-eight miles in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth; and, by a census taken in 1787, contained two hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants. A depreciated paper medium, and a deficiency of political knowledge, are considered as the causes of the anti-national spirit of this state. Her extensive frontier, and being obliged to export the greater part of her productions through Virginia, it is expected, will, ere long, evince the necessity of her acceding to the confederation. This, indeed, appears already the predominant idea of her citizens, by some recent transactions,



An address to his excellency George Washington, president of the united States, from the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania.

Sir,

THE president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania cheerfully embrace this interesting occasion to congratulate you upon the establishment of the federal constitution, and to felicitate ourselves and our country, upon your unanimous appointment to the presidency of the united States.

In reflecting upon the vicissitudes of the late war, in tracing its difficulties, and in contemplating its success, we are uniformly impressed with the extent and magnitude of the services which you have rendered to your country; and by that impression, we are taught to expect that the exercise of the same virtues and abilities, which have been thus happily employed in obtaining the prize of liberty and independence, must be effectually instrumental in securing to your fellow citizens and their posterity, the permanent blessings of a free and efficient government. And although the history of the revolution will furnish the best evidence of the invariable attachment of this commonwealth to the interest and honour of the union, yet we cannot resist this favourable opportunity of personally assuring you, that in every measure, which tends to advance the national character, you may rely on the zealous co-operation of the executive authority of Pennsylvania.

In discharging the duties of your present important station, it must, sir, be a never-failing source of consolation and support, that the unbounded love and confidence of the people, will produce a favourable construction of all your actions, and will contribute to the harmony and success of your administration. For we know, that eventually your happiness must depend upon the happiness of your country, and we believe, that in wishing an adequate execution of your intentions and designs, we comprehend all that is necessary to both.

Uniting, with our sister states, in the admiration of those motives, which, at this interesting era of our affairs, have induced you again to relinquish the enjoyment of domestic peace, for a conspicuous and laborious participation in the cares and toils of public life, we fervently pray for the preservation of your health, and we confidently hope, that the consummation of a patriot's wishes—the glory and felicity of your country, will crown the period of a long and illustrious existence, and prepare you for the enjoyment of an everlasting reward.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Council chamber.

Philadelphia, April 20, 1789.

ANSWER.

To the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen.

I RECEIVE with great satisfaction on the affectionate congratulations of the president and supreme executive council, of Pennsylvania, on my appointment to the presidency of the united states.

If, under favour of the divine providence, and with the assistance of my fellow citizens, it was my fortune to have been in any degree instrumental in vindicating the liberty and confirming the independence of my country, I now find a full compensation for my services, in a belief that those blessings will be permanently secured by the establishment of a free and efficient government. And you will permit me to say, on this occasion, that as nothing could add to the evidence I have formerly received, of the invariable attachment of your commonwealth to the interest and honour of the union, so nothing could have been more agreeable to me at this time, than the assurances you have given me of the zealous co-operation of its executive authority in facilitating the accomplishment of the great objects which are committed to my charge.

While I feel my sensibility strongly excited by the expressions of affection and the promises of support, which I every where meet with from my countrymen, I entertain a consolatory hope, that the purity of my intentions, and the perseverance of my endeavours to promote the happiness of my country, will atone for any of the slighter defects which may be discovered in my administration. For, whatever may be the issue of our public measures, or however I may err in opinion, I trust it will be believed, that I could not have been actuated by any interests separate from those of my country.

Suffer me, gentlemen, to conclude, by assuring you that I am well pleased with the justice you have done to the motives from which I have acted, and by thanking you for the tender concern you have been pleased to manifest for my personal felicity.

George Washington.

Philadelphia, April 20, 1789.

To his excellency George Washington, esquire, L. L. D. president of the united States of America, commander in chief of the army and navy thereof, &c. The address of the trustees and faculty of the university of the state of Pennsylvania.

PERMIT, sir, the university of the state of Pennsylvania, to join in the general joy, occasioned by your accession to the first office in the federal empire. It is by this honour, (the highest that America can bestow) that a grateful people express the affection which your eminent services have excited in their bosoms. It is this that has given them but one voice in their delegation of this important trust, and that unites the homage of the heart with the duty of the citizen. To be the first magistrate of a great empire is a station that many have attained; but to acquire it by the unanimous voice of a free people is an event, in the history of the world, as rare as those illustrious virtues of which it is the just reward. We rejoice in an event so auspicious to our country; and we confidently hope that your endeavours to extend the blessings of good government will be crowned with a success as brilliant as that which distinguished your exertions in the defence of our freedom.

As guardians of this university (which boasts the honour of enrolling the name of your excellency among those of her sons) we anticipate the encouragement which such institutions will receive under your administration. The influence of sound learning on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, will make it a favourite object in every civilized society; and the sciences, having experienced your protection amidst the convulsions of war, reasonably expect a distinguished patronage in the calm of peace.

We devoutly pray the Almighty Ruler of the universe, that you may long enjoy the felicity of that country which you have rescued from tyranny, and established in the blessings of freedom and independence—and that finally you may meet the reward which awaits his good and faithful servants.

Thomas M^c Kean, president.

Philadelphia, April 20th, 1789.

ANSWER.

To the trustees and faculty of the university of the state of Pennsylvania. Gentlemen,

I ACCEPT, with peculiar pleasure, the address of the university of the state of Pennsylvania, upon my appointment to the first office of the union.

Notwithstanding I had most seriously determined never more to take any part in transactions of a public nature, yet a conviction of duty would not suffer me, on the present occasion, to refuse a compliance with the unanimous call of my country; nor could I remain insensible to the honour that was conferred upon me by this fresh and distinguished proof of its approbation.

Probably my fellow-citizens anticipate too many and too great advantages from the appointment. It will, however, be an object, indeed, near to my heart, to verify, as far as may be in my power, those favourable sentiments, by endeavouring to secure the liberty and promote the happiness of the American people.

I am not a little flattered by being considered by the patrons of literature as one in their number. Fully apprized of the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, I shall only lament my want of ability to make it still more extensive. I conceive hopes, however, that we are at the eve of a very enlightened era. The same unremitting exertions, which, under all the blasting storms of war, caused the arts and sciences to flourish in America, will doubtless bring them nearer to maturity, when they shall have been sufficiently invigorated by the milder rays of peace.

I return you my hearty thanks for your devout intercession at the throne of grace for my felicity both here and hereafter. May you also, gentlemen, after having been the happy instruments of diffusing the blessings of literature and the comforts of religion, receive the just compensation for your virtuous deeds.

G. WASHINGTON.



Circular letter from the corresponding committee of the tradesmen and ma-

manufacturers of the town of Baltimore to the mechanics and manufacturers of the city of Philadelphia.
Baltimore, Feb. 26, 1789.

Gentlemen,

THE tradesmen and manufacturers of this town, at a late general meeting, having resolved to petition the federal legislature, in favour of American manufactures, and appointed us, the subscribers, a committee to correspond with our brethren within the union: we now beg leave to address you, on this interesting and important subject.

Conscious of the utility of prosecuting the business upon a liberal and extensive plan, we have waited in great expectation that some of our brethren in some other part of the union would first lead the way; but no communications having yet reached us, we take the liberty to address them.

We anxiously wish to cultivate a union of sentiment among the tradesmen and manufacturers at this important period: their joint exertions will have considerable weight, and cause their application to appear before the honourable congress with greater respectability.

We have taken the liberty to enclose you a copy of our petition now circulating through this state, for the purpose of signing, which we hope will meet your approbation; and make no doubt of your having already taken measures of a similar nature.

We shall be happy, gentlemen, to correspond with you, from time to time, and inform you of such steps as we may take to bring this interesting work to a happy issue, and expect the same attention from our good brethren in return.

We are, gentlemen,

With every sentiment of respect,

Your obedient humble servants,
Adam Fonerden, Geo. P. Keeporis,
John M'Clellan, John Bankson,
David Stodder, John Gray,
Ambrose Clarke, William Wilson.

Address of the convention of Kentucky, to the united States in congress assembled.

The people of Kentucky, represented in convention, as freemen, as citizens, and as a part of the American republic, beg leave by this hum-

ble petition, to state their rights, and call for protection in the enjoyment of them.

Fathers, fellow-citizens, and guardians of our rights,

AS we address you by the endearing appellation of fathers, we rely on your paternal affection to hear us; we rely on your justice as men and citizens, to attend to the wrong done to men and citizens; and, as a people recognized by the solemn acts of the union, we look for protection to the federal head.

When the peace had secured to America that sovereignty and independence, for which she had so nobly contended, we could not retire with our Atlantic friends, to enjoy in ease the blessings of freedom. Many of us had expended, in the struggle for our country's rights, that property which would have enabled us to possess a competence with our liberty. On the western waters, the commonwealth of Virginia possessed a fertile, but uninhabited wild. In this wilderness, we fought, after having procured liberty for our posterity, to provide for their support. Inured to hardships by a long warfare, we ventured into almost impenetrable forests. Without bread or domestic cattle, we depended on the casual supplies afforded by the chase. Hunger was our familiar attendant, and even our unfavoury meals were made upon the wet surface of the earth, with the cloud-deformed canopy for our covering. Though forced to pierce the thicket, it was not in safety we trod. The wild savage thirsted for blood, lurked in our paths, and seized the unsuspecting hunter. Whilst we lamented the loss of a friend—a brother, a father, a wife, a child became a victim to the barbarian tomahawk. Instead of consolation, a new and greater misfortune deadened the sense of former afflictions. From the union, we receive no support, but we impeach not their justice. Ineffectual treaties, often renewed, and as often broken by the savage nations, served only to supply them with the means of our destruction. But no human cause could controul that providence which had destined this western country to be the seat of a civilized and happy people. The period of its accomplishment was distant, but it advanced with

rapid and incredible strides. We derived strength from our falls and numbers from our losses. The unparalleled fertility of our soil made grateful returns, far disproportioned to the slight labour which our safety would permit us to bestow. Our fields and herds afford us not only sufficient support for ourselves, but also for the emigrants, who annually double our numbers, and even a surplus still remains for exportation. This surplus would be far greater, did not a narrow policy shut up our navigation, and discourage our industry.

In this situation, we call for your attention, we beg you to trace the Mississippi from the ocean, survey the innumerable rivers which water your western territory, and pay their tribute to its greatness; examine the luxuriant soil which those rivers traverse. Then we ask, can the God of wisdom and nature have created that vast country in vain? Was it for nothing that he blessed it with a fertility almost incredible? Did he not provide those great streams which empty into the Mississippi, and by it communicate with the Atlantic, that other nations might enjoy with us the blessings of our fruitful soil? View the country, and you will answer for yourselves. But can the presumptuous madness of man imagine a policy inconsistent with the immense designs of the Deity? Americans cannot. As it is the natural right of the inhabitants of this country to navigate the Mississippi, so they have also a right derived from treaties and national compacts. By the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1763, between the crowns of Great Britain, France and Spain, the free navigation of the river Mississippi was ascertained to Great Britain. The right thus ascertained was exercised by the subjects of that crown until the peace of 1783, and, conjointly with them, by the citizens of the united states. By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independency of the united states, she also ceded to them the free navigation of the river Mississippi. It was a right naturally and essentially annexed to the possession of this western country. As such it was claimed by America, and it was upon that principle she obtained it. Yet the

court of Spain, who possess the country at the mouth of the Mississippi, have obstructed your citizens in the enjoyment of that right.

If policy is the motive which actuates political conduct, you will support us in this right, and thereby enable us to assist in the support of government. If you will be really our fathers, stretch forth your hands to save us. If you would be worthy guardians, defend our rights. We are a member, that would exert any muscle for your service. Do not cut us off from your body; by every tie of consanguinity and affection, by the remembrance of the blood which we have mingled in the common cause, by a regard to justice and to policy, we conjure you to procure our right. May your councils be guided by wisdom and justice, and may your determinations be marked by decision and effect. Let not your beneficence be circumscribed by the mountains which divide us. But let us feel that you are really the guardians and assertors of our rights. Then you would secure the prayers of a people whose gratitude would be as warm as their vindication of their rights will be eternal. Then our connexion shall be perpetuated to the latest times, a monument of your justice and a terror to your enemies.

Danville, Nov. 10, 1788.

Address of the convention of Kentucky, to the honourable the general assembly of Virginia.

THE representatives of the good people inhabiting the several counties composing the district of Kentucky in convention met, beg leave again to address you on the great and important subject of their separation from the parent state, and being made a member of the federal union.

To repeat the causes which impel the inhabitants of this district to continue their application for a separation, will in our opinion be unnecessary; they have been generously acknowledged and patronized in former assemblies, and met the approbation of that august body, whose consent was necessary towards the final completion of this desirable object, and

who resolved that the measure was expedient and necessary, but which from their peculiar situation they were inadequate to decide on.

As happiness was the object which first dictated the application for a separation, so it has continued to be the ruling principle in directing the good people of Kentucke to that great end, upon constitutional terms, and they conceive the longer that measure is delayed, the more will they be exposed to the merciless savage, or (which is greatly to be feared) anarchy with all the concomitant evils attending thereon.

Being fully impressed with these ideas, and justified by frequent examples, we conceive it our duty as freemen, from the regard we owe to our constituents, and being encouraged by the resolutions of congress, again to apply to your honourable body, praying that an act may pass at the present session for enabling the good people of Kentucke district to obtain an independent government and be admitted into the confederation as a member of the federal union, upon such terms and conditions as to you may appear just and equitable; and that you transmit such act to the president of this convention with all convenient dispatch, in order for our consideration and the final completion of this business; this we are emboldened to ask, as many of the causes which produced former restrictions do not now exist.

Firmly relying on the justice and liberality of your honourable house, so often experienced and which we are ever bound to acknowledge, we aim solicit the friendly interposition of the parent state with the congress of the united states for a speedy admission of the district into the federal union, and also to urge that honourable body in the most express terms to take effectual measures for procuring to the inhabitants of this district the free navigation of the river Mississippi; without which the situation of a large part of the community will be wretched and miserable, and may be the source of future evils.

A true copy.

THOMAS TODD, C.C.

Vol. V.

An oration delivered on the 28th day of July, 1788, in the borough of York, by Mr. C. W. Hartley, (aged thirteen), son of the hon. Thomas Hartley, esq. member of the house of representatives of the united States.

Gentlemen,

CONVINCED of my inability to perform the task which is now before me, I feel at once the blush of diffidence, and the pang of sensibility; and did I not at this moment anticipate your kind indulgence on account of my youth, and particularly my inexperience as a speaker in public, I should sink in the attempt; nor dare to step forth on an occasion which calls for infinitely greater abilities than mine, to do it justice. I am convinced that my mind has not arrived to that maturity of reasoning, which is only to be discovered in more advanced life; yet, I find myself sensible of the high honour this day conferred upon me by you, the worthy and respectable citizens of York and its vicinity.

This town gave me birth, and whilst I acknowledge the pleasing fact, I cannot help feeling a degree of pleasure, unequalled by any other except that which arises from beholding so numerous and respectable an audience assembled together upon so important an occasion.

The industry, sobriety, and intelligence of the people of this place are well known, and acknowledged; you have just notions of liberty, you had a considerable share in laying the foundation of solid freedom in this country, and have given your aid to complete the superstructure. York county furnished the first troops from Pennsylvania, to aid our injured brethren of Boston; their zeal for the cause of liberty, soon carried them from the banks of Codorus to the plains of Cambridge. Shortly after this you observe a chosen band, which issued from the same county, upon the distant lakes of Canada, searching for the common foe.

The war being over, we see them accommodating themselves to the blessings of peace and endeavouring to establish good government.

This town, inconsiderable as it may now appear in the eyes of men, once afforded an asylum for the great na-

tional council of America. When our sea ports were blocked up, and our country laid waste, by an hostile and insulting enemy, when our frontiers were ravaged by the havock of destructive war, when all around were scenes of desolation and bloodshed, here was the peaceful safe retreat of justice, liberty and government.

Here did the assembled patriots of America attend in solemn close debate, free from the horrors of the invading army. In short, this place from the peculiar happiness of its situation, from the reasons above mentioned, from its being a part of the federal empire, has much to hope, much to expect; already has science begun to dawn upon our youth, already have the arts taken foot-hold among our inhabitants; and under the genial influence of freedom, and a mild but energetic government, we may reasonably expect that York will rise to eminence and respectability; that she will have a name among the nations; that she will become the flourishing nursery of ingenious men, ardent and vigorous in their pursuits to promote the general welfare of mankind: and, in a particular manner, to increase the rising greatness of this beautiful town.

Rome, from being a post on the Palatium, a small height on the banks of the Tiber, arose to the zenith of empire, to the dominion of the world, to be the seat of arts and sciences, and the universal theatre of elegance and grandeur. Yet did not Rome in point of the original beauties of her situation, excel this place; for we are now surrounded by hills, equal in natural magnificence to those on which Rome was originally built.

The Tiber, so celebrated by the poet and historian's pen, cannot surpass in elegance and simplicity the beauteous stream which now rolls on before our eyes.* Even the Tarpeian rock, that tremendous precipice, which was once so dreadful to the offending criminal, and which has never failed to attract the attention of the traveller and historian, is equalled on the banks of Codorus, by a rock which is now within our view. Rome could not originally have boasted a vicinity, su-

perior to that of York, for whichever way we turn our eyes, are displayed the most beautiful diversifications of mountains and plains, replenished with useful materials, well wooded, and watered by never failing streams, ornamented by a rich variety of fields lately over-burdened with ripened grain, and meadows which are crowned with verdure, and fitted for the sustenance of innumerable herds.

I now stand in silent admiration at the gay luxuriant scenes of magnificence and fertility which surround me, and cannot help indulging the delightful expectation, that, like the enchanting plains of Tivoli, which have been so often sung by the most elegant poets, these too, may become the favourite fields of fancy and poetical fiction.

After travelling through many scenes of embarrassments and difficulties, by lately calling forth the united wisdom of America, we have now a prospect of enjoying the blessings of peace, liberty and safety; far removed from the scenes of anarchy and confusion, and perfectly secured from tyranny and oppression.

We are now assembled as brothers, friends and fellow-citizens, as the people to celebrate the adoption of the new constitution, the great and important era which is intended, and I trust will give happiness to this western world.

This constitution, according to the opinion of the wisest and best of mankind, is as perfect as any human institution whatever; nay, many say it is the most perfect plan of government that was ever formed. It is not (like the one we have just relinquished) merely created for the purposes of the moment, formed when the minds of men were distracted between the contending passions of despair and patriotism, and tenderly alive to the miseries of a country exposed to the ravages of a cruel and destructive war. I say this government is not merely created for the purposes of the moment; but, like the masonry of the ancients, it is calculated to embrace distant ages. It has fully stood the test of the strictest scrutiny; it had to combat the designs of those who were enemies to good order and safe government, as well as the schemes of men who were rivetted to state power.

NOTE.

* Codorus.

tics, and who regarded rather their own private interest, than the public good.

Some men opposed the government from principle; if they were mistaken, they are to be pitied, but not blamed; others, from ignorance, have been averse from it, but, many of the last class, it is to be hoped, are by this time enlightened.

Yet, notwithstanding all these impediments, the constitution hath been adopted by ten of the states, and it may reasonably be expected, the other three will soon follow their wise example.

From all quarters we hear that the minority are submitting to the general sense of their country, and if upon experience, amendments should be found necessary to this system, they may readily be obtained in a constitutional manner.

Thus, my countrymen, have we become a nation! "the tottering fabric of our union has received a prop," and a sure foundation has been laid for our national safety and happiness. America, from being the scorn and ridicule of the world, will now bear rank among the nations of Europe.

Let us contrast our situation under the late government, with our approaching prospect;—the diamond owes half its brilliance to the soil.

View the farmer oppressed with taxation, while we possess infinite resources from imposts, duties, and excise, engines of revenue that would sweep our national debt, if we had power to bring them into play. An influx of foreign manufactures, has silenced the hammer of industrious mechanics, without lessening in the smallest degree the public burden: nor has the merchant less reason to bless returning government: for some time the sails of commerce, have slept by the masts, while copious tides have swelled our rivers in vain.

The scales of general justice have not been poised, nor can they, until the beam is held by the equal steady hand of wide-extended policy.

We have fallen from the honourable eminence of a free people, contending for the rights of human nature, into divided and jarring republics.

The little policy of state legislation has moved in the contracted circle of

local interest, while we were sacrificing our character as a nation.

In this stage of political declension, behold, the trumpet is blown from east to west, and danger is announced, our country takes the alarm, her statesmen and politicians are convened, and we are furnished by the deliberative wisdom of the continent, with a system of national government, commensurate with our empire.

Agriculture will no longer languish under the oppression of direct taxation—the rising government will be its tutelary God—our rivers will once more be whitened by the canals of commerce—our manufactures will be encouraged, and our coffers as a nation enriched by wise and general duties. No longer shall paper money, and her companion legal tender, banish mutual confidence, and sap the foundation of intercourse between man and man. Emerging from intestine tumult and provincial policy, we shall rise into view as a nation, and *e pluribus unum* be indeed our motto.



Extract from a periodical publication, entitled "the miscellanist," written in Dublin, by W. P. Carey.

LETTER IX.

Causes of the submission of great nations to arbitrary power—the ruinous effects of an oppressive government. felt by all ranks of society—public gratitude to the patriot—ardent spirit of liberty—its noble effects in all ages—Wallace, the unfortunate Scottish hero—Ireland's generous and ineffectual struggle for freedom—America gains her independence—distinguished abilities of the illustrious Washington.

AMIDST the reflexions which arise on an attentive perusal of history, the most penetrating wisdom is often at a loss in searching for the secret means by which powerful kingdoms have been for ages enslaved by a succession of tyrants, and populous countries held in a ruinous subjection by states inferior in natural strength, and rendered still weaker by remoteness of situation from the people injured by their oppressions. But daily experience convinces us, that mankind are held in stronger fetters by their own fallacious prejudices, than by armies

of mercenaries, or the most powerful grasp of despotism. Divided into numberless factions, acting from separate interests, and composed of persons various in their ruling passions, and opposite in their sentiments, political and religious, a people once wholly subdued by the iron hand of tyranny, with difficulty regain their liberties. The timid acquiesce under their burdens, through fear of the dangers attendant on a struggle for freedom: the selfish, sacrificing every generous sentiment to the gratification of a sordid appetite, and strangers to the noble enthusiasm of Roman virtue, are bribed to silence by meaner motives: enlisted in the pensioned bands of tyranny, they basely assist in forging chains for their posterity, and, conscious of having incurred the just resentment of their fellow citizens, they dread the hour of their country's emancipation, as the certain date of inevitable punishment for their treacheries: the affluent behold, in the tempests of intestine commotion, the shipwreck of their fortunes: the nobility, effeminated by luxury, and dazzled by the glittering tinsel of some phantom of honour, by the empty sound of an additional title, or the lucrative emoluments of office, meanly sell their privileges, and spread a baneful and widely extended influence over multitudes. Thus it happens, that nations groan for centuries, under the miseries of despotism, deprived of the natural rights of men, and plunged into the lowest state of abject despondency. In vain does heaven bestow on them a happy temperature of climate, and a luxuriant fertility of soil, to encourage and reward the practice of agriculture: the tempest is not more fatal to the hopes of the husbandman, than the influence of an oppressive government is to the dearest interests of society: it blasts the blossom of industry in the bud, and damps the fire of genius: it arrears the spirit of enterprise, and deadens the noblest faculties of the soul. As an unwholesome humour mingles with the current of the blood, and diffuses itself over the whole frame, corrupting the vitals, and sapping the constitution, so tyranny spreads its evil effects through all parts of the community, debasing the manners of the people,

and depressing their national spirit: it banishes honour, integrity, sincerity, courage, and all the noblest virtues; it introduces meanness, dissimulation, poverty, and the most shameful vices; it stifles in the soul the generous wish of sacrificing convenience, wealth, and even life itself, for the public good; while it makes avarice and the dread of an arbitrary power the governing motives of action—the most praise-worthy deeds are chosen for subjects of its ridicule and contempt—the foulest enormities are rewarded with titles, fortune, and distinguished rank. The unhappy peasant pines under the aggravated pressure of incessant fatigue and cheerless penury: doomed, literally, to eat the bread of sorrow—to murmur in friendless solitude at the unequal lot of man, and to feel with tenfold severity, the punishment inflicted on the fallen children of Adam; he beholds his scanty earnings, moistened with the sweat of his unremitting toil, wrested from his starving family, to satisfy the heavy exactions of his unfeeling lord. Commerce languishes, while the merchant is plundered by iniquitous schemes, devised to swell the revenues of lawless power, and enrich its worthless tools: the unprotected citizen is insulted and trampled on by a proud and dissipated nobility; who, in their turn, are doomed to be crushed by the hand of a rapacious and arbitrary sovereign.

To this state of wretchedness no country can sink at once. The patriotic exertions of spirited individuals have often defeated the designs of turbulent power, and rescued millions from the tyranny of a few. Ye happy citizens of those states which yet can boast of freedom—cherish that sacred—invaluable blessing, as you would the fountains of your life and happiness. Reverence the generous men who bravely stand as bulwarks between you and slavery—who intrepidly stem the torrent of corruption, and equally resist the slow insidious attacks of specious treachery, and the menacing tempest of armed tyranny—bestow on them the most distinguished testimonies of public regard, esteem and gratitude: let every eye brighten at their approach, let every tongue be loud in their praise: by these rewards you will

excite the exertions of future patriots who will rise in defence of your rights: you will inspire them with a courage, which will remain unshaken amidst the sharpest persecutions—with a virtue, which will spurn with contempt the venal offers of an artful favorite or a guilty sovereign—a virtue which will combat with success, the profligate abilities of the corrupt advocates of oppression, and securely fix your liberties on a basis, firm as the centre of the earth.

'Twas a virtue like this, which led the Grecian heroes to victory and renown at Marathon: which fired the gallant Leonidas and his Spartan band, to brave the force of half a world in arms, at Thermopylæ—and which finally triumphed over the mighty powers of Persia at Platea and Mycale. 'Twas this daring, this sacred enthusiasm, which elevated Rome to the zenith of glory, and rendered her the terror of her own times, and the admiration of all future ages. 'Twas this animated the generous bosom of the brave, but unfortunate Wallace, who so long fought against the adverse fate of his country, and who, expiring under the hands of the executioner, gained a brighter fame than the barbarous conqueror, to whose fury and revenge he fell a lamented sacrifice. 'Twas this which led the valiant Bruce, and a crowd of dauntless Scots, to battle and to victory. But why need I recur to past times—why fly to distant nations for illustrious examples? IRELAND!!!—unhappy IRELAND!!!—'twas this noble thirst of freedom, which led so many of thy illustrious, thy intrepid sons, to take arms against a ruthless invader—which impelled them so often to the fruitless—to the unequal contest. Ye sacred shades of heroes, guide my pen in that just cause for which you bravely fell!—Ye plains, so often steeped with the precious blood of my countrymen—so often bedewed with the tears of the miserable widows and orphans of the slain—will you never * * * * *

*****!!!
The Carthaginian chief, weeping over the ruins of his country, still had hopes of her regaining her former splendour. Nothing is impossible to a people determined to be free!

In America we behold the sublime and affecting spectacle of a brave peo-

ple, who, being driven to resistance by a proud and rapacious nation, have founded a mighty empire, which, though yet somewhat agitated, like the swelling bosom of the ocean after a storm, rises fast into superior consequence, and promises fair to be the asylum of genius and liberty, the seat of arts and learning, and the universal emporium of wealth and commerce. Amidst the number of intrepid foldiers, of experienced generals, and wise legislators, who have distinguished themselves on this occasion, an illustrious name appears, which is not only eminently conspicuous in the annals of the present age, but shines unrivalled by the most celebrated characters of antiquity. The irresolute only, who fail in resisting oppression, are branded with the name of rebels. The brave, who succeed in the arduous strife, reap, with the glorious fruit of their toils, the laurel of renown: convinced of this, the great WASHINGTON drew his sword; at the eventful perilous moment, when the world, with eager concern, attended to the fate of America, in the infancy of her strength, unjustly invaded by the overwhelming power of a monarchy grown wanton, and deemed irresistible, through an almost uninterrupted series of victory and conquest, this great man rushed forward, and, to save his country, risked his fame, his property, and his life!—Animated with a generous, a disinterested ardour, he stood forth a volunteer, in the sacred cause of justice!—Freedom, and not power, was his aim— independence, happiness, and the prayers of virtuous millions, were his reward. (*Remainder in our next.*)

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Anecdote of general Wolfe.

GENERAL Wolfe had very fair hair. Observing one day several young officers more attentive to the outside of their heads, than they ought to be, in the field, he took a pair of scissors and cut off those locks which had been frequently admired by both sexes. Then he gave his scissors to the young gentleman who seemed to have the greatest affection for his hair—"I dare say, sir, you will be polite enough to follow my example." He did so, and his well curled companions immediately cropped themselves.

Pipes Madeira wine, 40.	40	00	00	80	360	00	00	145762	17	6	79	1422	0	0	335	152	16	4
Quarter calks do. 104.	4	1134	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	89068	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pipes other wine, 184.	63	1134	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
		78369	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		4624	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Articles exported.	Unit.	Stat. of Am.	Nova Scotia.	West Indies.	Europe.	Africa & E. Indies.	Total
Price.	Qua	f. s. d.	Qua	f. s. d.	Qua	f. s. d.	f. s. d.
Amount brought over,		78369 3 0		145762 17 6	89068 7 0	17328 19 10	335153 16 4
Q. calks other wine, 90s.	131	580 10 0	44 198 0 0	81 0 0	4 10 0	112 10 0	985 10 0
Tierces rice, 80s.	7	28 0 0	29 116 0 0	2456 0 0	1332 0 0	308 0 0	4240 0 0
Barrels pork, 60s.	114	376 4 0	72 237 12 0	408 0 0	49 10 0	1161 12 0	3171 6 0
Do. beef, 42s.	1748	3670 16 0	42 88 4 0	2468 0 0	218 8 0	3444 0 0	12604 4 0
Do. flour, 32s.	634	1014 8 0	4385 7016 0 0	1850 0 0	4460 16 0	2857 4 0	20022 8 0
Do. bread, 18s.	125	112 10 0	623 560 14 0	184 0 0	9 0 0	162 18 0	1010 14 0
Kegs crackers, 4s.	45		30 6 0 0	453 0 0		618 123 12 0	220 4 0
Buttels corn, 3s.	1882	282 6 0	12909 1936 7 0	932 0 0	959 11 0	7447 1117 1 0	29567 4435 1 0
Buttels meal, 2s.	94	14 2 0	5097 764 11 0	192 0 0	18 18 0	144 129 12 0	807 9 0
Barris. peas & beans, 18s.	15	9383	237 213 6 0	381 0 0	24 0 0	225 11 5	704 14 0
Buttels potatoes, 15s.	9383	462 3 0	981 49 1 0	1963 98 3 0	480 0 0	13032 651 12 0	6570 0 0
Pirkins butter, 50s.	162	405 0 0	241 602 10 0	767 0 0	437 10 0	1283 3207 10 0	8228 0 0
Do. hogs' fat, 50s.	4	10 0 0		106 0 0	265 0 0	23 57 10 0	332 10 0
Oxen, 150s.			673 5047 10 0	460 0 0	3450 0 0	1133 8497 10 0	8497 10 0
Cows, 100s.			20 100 0 0	1 0 0	5 0 0	21 105 0 0	105 0 0
Sheep, 10s.	10	5 0 0	1063 531 10 0	397 198 10 0	14 5 0	1470 735 0 0	735 0 0
Hogs, 15s.	12	7 4 0	390 292 10 0	269 201 15 0	19 0 0	678 508 10 0	508 10 0
Dozens poultry, 12s.	1565	939 0 0	130 78 0 0	251 150 12 0		393 235 16 0	235 16 0
C. hollow ware, 25s.	537	671 5 0		4 2 8 0		1369 941 8 0	941 8 0
Calks flaxseed, 40s.	1113	2226 0 0				894 1117 10 0	1117 10 0
M. bricks, 18s.	532	478 16 0				7384 14768 0 0	14768 0 0
B. pot & pearl ashes, 100s.			174 156 12 0	496 446 8 0		1207 1086 6 0	1086 6 0
Trunks furs, 200s.						6203 31015 0 0	31015 0 0
Calks furs, 6s.						800 0 0	800 0 0
Calks oil, 80s.	5949	23796 0 0				46 9200 0 0	9200 0 0
Barrels oil, 200s.	47	470 0 0				3866 20196 0 0	20196 0 0
C. whalebone, 1s. 6d.						808 0 0	808 0 0
Lbs. wax, 40s.	2207	4414 0 0	62 124 0 0	114 228 0 0		120 0 0	705 0 0
Boxest. candles, 40s.	2207	6228 0 0	4 16 0 0	557 2228 0 0		70 140 0 0	2453 4906 0 0
Do. spermaceti do. 80s.	1557					469 1876 0 0	10488 0 0
		124576 7 0	22768 16 0	170978 1 6	198107 5 0	25125 18 10	352546 8 4

Articles exported.	Unit. Stat. of Amer.		Nova Scotia.		West Indies.		Europe.		Africa & E. Indies.		Total	
	Quan.	Amount. £. s. d.	Quan.	Amount. £. s. d.	Quan.	Amount. £. s. d.	Quan.	Amount. £. s. d.	Quan.	Amount. £. s. d.	Quan.	Amount. £. s. d.
<i>Amt. brought over,</i> 25s.												
Boxes soap,	204	124 376 7 0	26	227 68 16 0	60	1709 78 1 6		198 107 5 0	20	35 125 18 10	310	553 346 8 4
Do. chocolate,	1701	3402 0 0	53	32 10 0 0		75 0 0				25 0 0	2054	387 10 0 0
Lbs. coffee,	97331	4866 11 0	857	106 0 0	143	286 0 0		314 0 0	157	227 4 0	2054	4108 0 0
Do. cocoa,	4460	111 10 0	1400	42 17 0	160	8 0 0		4544 0 0	4544	1028 92	5860	5144 12 0 0
Do. bohea tea,	65055	6505 10 0	11092	35 0 0					1874	187 8 0	79946	146 10 0 0
Do. other India tea,	2892	1012 4 0	351	1109 4 0	1925	192 10 0			160	56 0 0	3403	7994 12 0 0
Do. loaf sugar,	42068	1752 16 8	1321	122 17 0					160	56 0 0	3403	1191 1 0 0
C. brown sugar,	2224	4468 0 0	326	63 7 6	3526	146 18 4		104 5 10	14134	588 18 4	63732	2656 6 8 0
Lbs. cheese,	93635	1560 11 8	10894	652 0 0	14	28 0 0		28 0 0	62	124 0 0	2636	5272 0 0 0
Dozens wool cards,	1882	2258 8 0		181 0 4	6600	110 0 0		32505 5	32505	541 15 0	154105	5274 18 4 0
Lbs. leather,	104495	5660 2 11							840	45 10 0	105335	2264 8 0 0
Dozens shoes,	3136	9408 0 0	25	105 0 0					4	12 0 0	3175	5705 12 11 0
Hogheads salt,	134	1678 1090 14 0	595	386 15 0	5	24 1 0		3 5 0	50	64 7 0	2414	9525 0 0 0
Lbds. mellefies,	1404	6769 0 0	674	4718 0 0					58	406 0 0	1699	1569 2 0 0
Barrels do.	67	134 0 0	61	122 0 0								11893 0 0 0
Bolts duck,	1825	3075 0 0							120	360 0 0	1415	256 0 0 0
C. hemp,	2067	4650 15 0										4335 0 0 0
C. cordage,	484	852 0 0							52	124 16 0	2067	4650 15 0 0
Calks nails,	1204	1884 0 0							8	48 0 0	409	981 12 0 0
Barrels nav. flores,	625	375 0 0	795	477 0 0	4283	2569 16 0		1902	1141 4 0	322	1932 0 0 0	4693 16 0 0
Calks g'nfeng,	10	750 0 0			5	375 0 0		6	450 0 0	21	1575 0 0 0	7003 10 0 0
Hogheads tobacco,	2105	336 0 0	4	42 0 0	380	3990 0 0		219	2226 0 0	667	7003 10 0 0	1470 0 0 0
Horses,	2004				147	1470 0 0					147	1470 0 0 0
		18653 10 3		30964 17 10		173602 13 2		205581 11 10		42074 1 2		638876 14 3
		23716 16 5		3797 4 9		8577 4 10		3866 14 2		8473 8 8		48431 8 10
Variety of articles not enumerated,												
		210320 6 2		24702 2 7		12479 18 0		209418 6 0		20247 5 0		682302 2 1

History of the treatment of prisoners among the American Indians.

TH E prisoners, when they arrive in the conquering nation, undergo fates so dissimilar and opposite, that it is difficult to account for them on any principles known in civilized life. Some are adopted into families which have lost a husband, a brother, or a son, and, with the prerogatives and relations of the deceased, assume with astonishing facility the passions and duties of their new situation; while others are destined to perish by every torture, that ingenuity can invent, or cruelty inflict.

Previously, however, all pass through a discipline, dictated by the extremes of inconsiderate levity, or of brutal rage.

The same frolic and thoughtless impulse that prompts children to divert themselves with the miseries of inferior animals, makes a young savage find his pastime in persecuting his unfortunate prisoner; and older and more determined warriors transfer for the moment to the miserable captive, all the rage that burns in their breasts against the hostile nation. Apparently forgetful of the vicissitudes of fortune, they remember not that they may sometime be exposed to the same fate, or they remember it only to exasperate their rage. Savages seem to have no idea of alleviating the calamities of war, from the considerations of mutual interest, more than from the softer and refined affections that are so much the ornament of human nature in civil life. At their approach to every village, the youth, armed with clubs, with bones, and with balls composed of coarse gravel mixed with clay, arrange themselves in a double line along the street. Through this lane the naked wretches are compelled to run, and to suffer the peltings and bruises of the most wanton cruelty. If the prisoner, wounded and beaten, and discouraged by the length of the race still before him, can, by desperate efforts, break the line of his persecutors, and force his passage into a neighbouring hut, the humaner feelings of the women commonly interest them in his protection. If a woman who has lost a husband or a son, as frequently happens, adopts him on the spot, he is secured from further insult. But,

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if not, seldom can any interposition save him from finishing the scene of savage amusement. He is forced from his temporary shelter to run the remainder of his course, and to become the sport of more insolent diversions, for his unsuccessful endeavour to escape.

Having arrived at the place of their destination, the fates of the prisoners* are decided by the chiefs and warriors. By their decree, some are consigned to the house of life, and others to the house of death. After the first scene of frantic joy, and while the heads of the nation are engaged in these important deliberations, all the captives are treated with equal kindness. Whatever attentions their rude hospitality knows, are shewn to the unfortunate men; and, in some southern nations, these attentions are augmented by offers of pleasure, and the flattering company of the handsomest women.

Those that are consigned to the house of life, are generally the women, the children, and such of the men as have not yet distinguished themselves by their martial prowess. These are entrusted to the disposal of the civil chief, who, by a herald, invites all those who have lost relations, or who are destitute of children, to attend the distribution of the captives. Women, who have lost their husbands, and parents who have lost their sons in battle, are indulged with a choice before others.

After the devastations of war are supplied, those who have lost their friends by any other fatality; those who are childless; those who need assistance in their houses; or those who are prompted by any impulse in favour of a captive; are next admitted to their election. The whole choice is conducted with perfect harmony. And, in their phrase, they place the prisoners on the mats of the deceased. They enter into the same connexions, they imbibe and become the objects of the same passions, and they assume, in the family, the same stations.

If the men, chosen by the women, please them, they are speedily taken

NOTE.

* Except those who have been previously adopted.

Tt

Variety of articles not enumerated, 93716 16 5
1160853 10 31
3594 27 101
3797 4 9
34768 8 7
18179 18 0
8577 4 10
3866 14 8
8473 8 8
48131 8 10
687908 2 1

into the relation of husbands; if not, they are commonly committed to some of the youth, to be killed in private; having become, by submitting to life, unworthy of the public tortures of a great hero. The captive women instantly become wives. A woman makes some trial of the disposition and activity of her future husband; because, she is about to exalt him to the station of superiority and command—in the choice of a wife, the other sex needs less precaution; because the prerogative of men, in a savage state, is so great, that the wife is commonly what they please. Supernumerary prisoners are assigned as slaves to some favourite chiefs. But this appropriation is not purely savage. It indicates some progress in idea towards civilization; and the custom has been known to have greatly increased since their intercourse with the nations of Europe. Adoptions so contrary to the ideas of improved society, seem to be made and accepted with sentiments the most cordial and sincere. With surprising facility, they mutually enter into the affections, and apply themselves to discharge the duties of their new relations. The acceptance of adoption among a hostile tribe, renders a prisoner forever infamous in his own country. They esteem the first glory of a warrior never to be over-reached in stratagem, or taken by an enemy; but if taken, his second glory, and the only honourable part that is left for him to act, is to die with unconquerable fortitude, and to impress upon his foes a just respect for the bravery of his nation, by a patience that triumphs over every torture. If he should accept of life in a hostile region, where enmities are mortal, he would be considered as unworthy the character of a warrior, and forever spurned and rejected by his own tribe.

An exchange of prisoners never enters into their ideas. It would be contrary to their martial habits and opinions. Every prisoner is held, among them, to be dead. To a brave man there is no alternative. A warrior of age, of distinction, or of high sentiments, would refuse an offered adoption. It is never proposed to him: and he must prepare to impress the last seal upon his military character,

by suffering with an heroism equally incapable of yielding or complaining. Consigned to the house of death, his fate is at the disposal of the principal warrior. He is still treated with kindness; he receives the appellation of brother; apparently indifferent about his approaching destiny, he eats and drinks with the same relish, and sleeps with the same tranquility as if his life were in no danger. He is supported by an insensibility little known in polished society, or by a pride that scorns to suffer an enemy to perceive or be witness to his emotion.

By many exquisite and lingering torments they put their prisoners to death: but, among these the principal is fire.—A large pile is erected in the middle of their village or encampment, and near it is a tree, to which the victim is to be tied. A warrior arrives to inform him that his fate is ready—he replies, “it is well,” and marches with an elevated and sullen air towards the place of his execution. When he sees the flames, the tree, and his enemies standing round thirsting for his blood, he raises, for the last time, his death song; which he had frequently, during the retreat, been compelled to sing. It consists of a kind of rudely measured prose, chanted by the voice, in a wild lugubrious tone—“I am going to die—I will die like a brave man—my enemies will make me suffer—but they shall not see me complain—I will defy their power—they shall not subdue a warrior of my nation—then will I go and see all the great chiefs and warriors that have perished before me.” In strains like these, that would add glory to the fame of Regulus or Cato, does he express his contempt of death, and triumph over the terrors of his destiny. Tied by a cord to the tree, within the scorching influence of the flame, but not so near as to be speedily consumed, the terrible scenes of his sufferings commence. Some enraged woman, who has lost, in the late battle, a husband or a son, or some fierce warrior gives the signal of onset, by striking him with a club, by piercing him with an arrow or a knife, or by rushing upon him with a fiery stake. Instantly all endeavour to bear a part in this bloody tragedy; men, women, and children, seem to

emulate one another in the wantonness of cruelty.—They shout, and yell, and dance around him, and enjoy his agonies—some mangle his flesh, some pierce it with burning brands—some endeavour to wrench it from his bones, some twist and strain his sinews, some attempt to tear off the nails, or to pierce beneath them with pointed splinters—sometimes they encourage their children to aim their arrows at him, from such a distance that they cannot inflict a mortal wound, thus, at once prolonging the tortures of the sufferer, and training their sons betimes to a thirst of cruelty and blood. They study to unite the exquisiteness of pain, with the prolongation of torture; and their unhappy ingenuity often protracts it during several days.—Nothing but the fear of terminating his misery too soon, imposes any restraint upon their fury. He has it in his power to put a voluntary period to his sufferings, by dashing himself against the tree, or by rushing into the flames. But such an action would not accord with their ideas of true glory, and would be branded among them with the reproach of cowardice. It is not the contempt of death, that constitutes the highest praise of a savage hero, but the contempt of pain. To this end his whole education is directed, and by astonishing efforts of patient fortitude, he establishes his claim to the heroic character. That he may complete the measure of his glory by uncommon sufferings, he endeavours to provoke their utmost rage. He tells them they know not how to try the fortitude of a brave man—they are ignorant in the art of torture.—He recounts the numbers of their friends who have perished by his hands—he relates with insulping triumph the torments in which he has made them expire—he reminds them of the ample vengeance which his nation will speedily take of them for his blood. Here you see a dreadful contest between ingenious cruelty, and invincible patience.—Their revenge prompts them to make him sensible of the keenest miseries—he glories in seeming not to feel them.—They endeavour to subdue his pride—he seems to derive a pleasure from shewing them his superiority over their power. Their triumph would be

completed, if they could reduce a warrior of a rival nation to complaints and intreaties. He glories in suffering with a high unbroken spirit. Sometimes the bitterness of his insults will provoke the young warriors to rash efforts of rage, that speedily terminate his miseries; such impetuosity, however, is always avoided by the old and the experienced. “Thou shouldst not,” said an old Onondago chief to a young Huron, who had stabbed him thrice with his knife, “thou shouldst not be too furious; thou wilt spoil thy revenge, and not have time to learn to die like a man.” A distinguished warrior will never suffer his mind to be vanquished by the severity or the continuance of pain. But alternately he insults his tormentors, and chants his death-song, till some chief, weary of contending against such persevering fortitude, strikes a tomahawk into his skull; or, till nature being exhausted by the variety and duration of his sufferings, he sinks down without a groan, apparently more satisfied at having braved so many enemies, than distressed at the loss of life. If it happens that a prisoner of the lower class is overcome with fear, and cries out, or trembles at death, surrounded with so many terrors; this never excites the pity, but the contempt of his enemies, and some haughty warrior dispatches him at once as a wretch unworthy to be treated like a man.

(To be continued.)



Remarks on the North American Indians.—By Dr. Franklin.*

THE Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counsellors; for all their government is by the counsel or advice of sages: there is no force, there are no prisons; no officers to compel obedience, or inflict punishment: Hence they generally study oratory; the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian women till the ground, dress the food, nurse and bring up the children, and preserve and hand down

NOTE.

* Some of these remarks were published in a former Museum; but are here republished, to preserve the connexion. C.

to posterity the memory of public transactions. These employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they esteem slavish and base; and the learning, on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless.

Having frequent occasions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their memories, (for they have no writing) and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again and deliver it. To interrupt another even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeness of these savages in conversation, is, indeed, carried to excess; since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means, they indeed avoid disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make upon them. The missionaries, who have attempted to convert them to christianity, all complain of this as one of the great difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation. You would think they were convinced:—no such matter; it is mere civility.

A Swedish minister having assembled the chiefs of the Susehannah Indians, made a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is

founded; such as the fall of our first parents by eating an apple; the coming of Christ to repair the mischief; his miracles, and suffering, &c.—When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him. "What you have told us," says he, "is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cyder. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far, to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers. In return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours."

"In the beginning, our fathers had only the flesh of animals to subsist on; and if their hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made a fire in the woods to broil some parts of it. When they were about to satisfy hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on that hill which you see yonder among the blue mountains. They said to each other, it is a spirit that perhaps has smelt our broiling venison, and wishes to eat of it: let us offer some to her. They presented her with the tongue: she was pleased with the taste of it, and said, your kindness shall be rewarded: come to this place after thirteen moons, and you will find something that will be of great benefit in nourishing you and your children to the latest generations. They did so, and, to their surprise, found plants they had never seen before; but which, from that ancient time, have been constantly cultivated among us, to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground, they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney beans; and where her backside had sat, on it they found tobacco." The good missionary, disgusted with this idle tale, said, "what I delivered to you were sacred truths; but what you tell me is mere fable, fiction, and falsehood." The Indian, offended, replied, "my brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practise these rules, believed all your stories; why do you refuse to believe ours?"

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have," say they, "as much curiosity as you; and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil, in travelling strangers, to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the Stranger's House. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, conversation begins, with enquiries who they are? whither bound? what news? &c. and it usually ends with offers of service, if the strangers have occasion for guides or any necessities for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons; of which Conrad Weiser, our interpreter, gave me the following instance: He had been naturalised among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a message from our governor to the council at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canassatego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink.

When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canassatego began to converse with him: asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other? whence he then came? what had occasioned the journey? &c. Conrad answered all his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs: I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in the great house: tell me what it is for? What do they do there?" "They meet there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "I do not doubt," says the Indian, "that they tell you so; they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I generally used to deal with Hans Hanson, but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver? He said he could not give more than four shillings a pound; but, says he, I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too; and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said, but perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought too, that the man had mentioned something of beaver, and I suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out, I accosted my merchant, well, Hans, says I, I hope you have agreed to give more than four shillings a pound?" "No," says he, "I cannot give so much, I cannot give more than three shillings and six pence." "I then spoke to several

other dealers, but they all sung the same song, three and six pence, three and six pence. This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right; and that, whatever they pretended of meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was, to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn good things, they certainly would have learnt some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our practice; if a white man, in travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirst and hunger; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on: we demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, "Where is your money?" and if I have none, they say, "get out, you Indian dog." "You see they have not yet learned those little good things that we need no meeting to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impossible their meetings should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect; they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver."

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Remarks on the different success, with respect to health, of some attempts to pass the winter in high northern latitudes. By John Aikin, M. D.—P. 118.

IN a manuscript French account of the islands lying between Kamtschatka and America, drawn up by that eminent naturalist and geographer, Mr. Pallas, I find it mentioned, that "the Russians, in their hunting voyages to these islands, (an expedition generally lasting three years) in order to save expense and room in purchasing and stowing vegetable provision, compose half their crews of natives of Kamtschatka, because these people are able to preserve themselves from the scurvy with animal food only, by abstaining from the use of salt."

Lastly, in the excellent oration of Linnæus, on the advantages of travelling in one's own country, printed in the third volume of the *Amœniatæ academicæ*, it is asserted, "that the Laplanders live without corn and wine, without salt and every kind of artificial liquor, on water and flesh alone, and food prepared from them; and yet are entirely free from the scurvy."*

Having thus stated the facts which have fallen in my way relative to this subject, I proceed to a comparison of their several circumstances, and some remarks on the general result.

The scurvy appears to be the disease peculiarly dreaded and fatal in all the above-related attempts to winter in extremely cold climates. Whether the circumstance of cold itself, or the want of proper food occasioned by it, principally conduces to the generation of this disease, is a point not clearly ascertained. From the preceding narrations, however, no doubt can be entertained, that it is possible for persons to keep free from the scurvy, in countries and seasons the most intensely cold, provided their diet and manner of living be properly adapted to such situations; and this, without the aid of fresh vegetables, or any of those other preservatives, which have of late been proposed by ingenious writers.

When we compare the histories above recited, it is impossible not to be immediately struck with these leading circumstances, that those in whom the scurvy raged, fed upon salt provisions, and drank spiritous liquors; whereas those who escaped it, fed upon fresh animal food, or, at least, preserved without salt, and drank water.

It is well enough known, among sea-faring people, that fresh animal food is serviceable to scorbutic persons; but whether the constant use of

NOTA.

* "*In Laplandiâ observabit homines absque Cerere & Baccho, absque sale & potu omni artificiali, aquâ tantum & carne, & quæ ab his præparantur, contentos vivere.*"

"*Quarè Norlandi, ut plurimum, scorbuto sint infesti; & cur Lappones, contra, hujus morbi prorsus expertes?*"

it alone would prevent the scurvy, they have no means of experiencing. As little can we learn from their experience, whether any other mode of preserving animal flesh, than that of salting, will keep it in such a state as to be salubrious food. But the narrative of the eight Englishmen seems to determine both these important points; for their provision was all of the animal kind, and the greatest part of it was flesh killed several months before, and kept from decaying, either by the coldness of the climate alone, or by the cooking it had undergone. It is evident, too, that the sailors of Kamtschatka, who subsist during so long a voyage on animal food unsalted, must either preserve it by smoking, freezing, or other similar processes, or must use it in a putrid state. To this last, indeed, from the accounts we have of the usual diet of these people, they seem not at all averse; though we may find it difficult to conceive how the body can be kept in health by food absolutely putrefied. The Laplanders, also, who subsist so entirely on animal food without salt, must have other methods of preserving it for a considerable time; and, indeed, it seems to be the constant practice in Russia and other northern regions, for the inhabitants to freeze their meat in order to lay it up for their winter's stock.

These facts lead to the consideration of the question, whether salted meat be prejudicial on account of the quantity of salt it contains; or merely because the salt fails to preserve the juices of the flesh in such a state as to afford proper nutriment? The latter, I believe, is the more prevalent opinion; yet I confess, I cannot but think, that sea-salt itself, when taken in large quantities, must prove unfriendly to the body. The septic quality of small proportions of salt mixed with animal matters (and small proportions only can be received into the juices of a living animal) has been proved by the well-known experiments of Sir John Pringle. But besides this, it may prove hurtful, by the acrimonious and corrosive property with which it may impregnate the fluids. It is universally allowed, that much salt, and salted meats, are very prejudicial in the disorders vul-

garly called scorbutic amongst us; which, though in many respects different from the genuine sea-scurvy, yet resemble this disease in many leading symptoms, as lassitude, livid blotches, spongy gums, and disposition to hæmorrhage. And some of the symptoms of the sea-scurvy seem to indicate a saline, and not a simply putrid acrimony: such as that of the disjoining of bones formerly broken, in which case, the osseous matter of the callus is probably redissolved, by the saline principle contained in the animal fluids. On the other hand, it seems to be a fact, that several of the northern nations, whose diet is extremely putrid, (as before hinted with respect to the people of Kamtschatka) are able to preserve themselves from the scurvy; therefore, putrid aliments alone will not necessarily induce it.

On the whole, on an attentive consideration of the facts which have been recited, some of which are upon a pretty extensive scale, I cannot but adopt the opinion, that the use of sea-salt is a very principal cause of the scurvy; and a total abstinence from it, is one of the most important means for preventing this disease.

A considerable article of the diet of the eight Englishmen, though necessary alone could have brought them to use it, was probably of considerable service in preventing the disorders to which their situation rendered them liable. This was the whale's blubber, which, though deprived of great part of their oil, must still contain no small share of it. All voyagers agree, that the Samoides, Esquimaux, Greenlanders, and other inhabitants of the polar regions, make great use of the fat and oil of fish and marine animals in their diet, and indeed can scarcely subsist without them. In what precise manner these substances act, is not perhaps easily explained; but as the use of them would, doubtless, cause an accumulation of similar parts in the body, and as we find all animals destined to endure the severe cold of the arctic climates, are copiously furnished with fat, we may conclude, that it possesses some peculiar efficacy in defending from the impressions of the cold.

With respect to the warm rein-

deers' blood, which the Russian sailors seem to have thought so salutary, and the use of which is confirmed in one of the quotations; if it has any particular effect in preventing the scurvy, beyond that of the juices extracted from recent animal flesh by cookery or digestion, it must probably reside in some unassimilated particles, derived from the vegetable food of the animal, and still retaining considerably of a vegetable nature. It is well known that the chyle does not immediately lose its peculiar properties, and mix undistinguishably with the blood; and that the milk, that secretion the most speedily and abundantly separated from the blood, possesses many properties in common with vegetable substances. As to their other preservative, the swallowing of raw frozen meat, I am at a loss to account for any salutary effects it may have, except as an aliment rendered easy of digestion, by the power of frost in making substances tender.

To proceed to the next important article, that of drink. It appears, that in all the unsuccessful instances, vinous and spiritous liquors were used, and probably in considerable quantities. Thus, in one of the Dutch journals, notice is taken, that an allowance of brandy began to be served to each man as soon as the middle of September. Writers on the scurvy seem almost unanimously to consider a portion of these liquors as an useful addition to the diet of persons exposed to the causes of this disease; and due deference ought certainly to be paid to their knowledge and experience: but, convinced as I am, that art never made so fatal a present to mankind as the invention of distilling spiritous liquors, and that they are seldom or never a necessary, but almost always a pernicious article in the diet of men in health: I cannot but look with peculiar satisfaction on the confirmation this opinion receives by the events in these narratives.

Indeed, from reasoning alone, we might naturally be led to the same conclusion. A great degree of cold renders the fibres rigid; and by repelling the blood and nervous principle from the surface of the body, increases the vital energy of the internal organs. Hence, the heart contracts more for-

cibly, and the stomach has its warmth and muscular action augmented. In these circumstances, stimulants and astringents seem by no means indicated; but rather substances of an opposite nature. We have acquired, by association, the idea of opposing actual cold, by matters potentially or metaphorically hot; but this is in great measure a fallacious notion. On the contrary, it is found that the effects of excessive heat are best resisted by warm and acrid substances, such as the spicy and aromatic vegetables which the hot climates most abundantly produce, and which are so much used in the diet of the inhabitants. And if it be admitted as a general law of nature, that every country yields the products best adapted to the health and subsistence of its inhabitants, we should conclude that aromatic vegetables, and fermented liquors are peculiarly appropriated to the warmer climates; while bland, oily, animal matters are rather designed for the use of the frigid regions. Spirits, as antiseptics, may, indeed, seem to be indicated where there is a necessity of living upon corrupted putrescent flesh; but they cannot act in this way, without, at the same time, rendering the food harder and more indigestible, and, consequently, lessening the quantity of nutriment to be derived from it. The temporary glow and elevation caused by spiritous liquors, are, I imagine, very fallacious tokens of their good effects; as they are always succeeded by a greater reverse, and tend rather to consume and exhaust, than to feed and invigorate, the genuine principle of vital energy. Another extremely pernicious effect of these liquors, is, the indolence and stupidity they occasion, rendering men inattentive to their own preservation, and unwilling to use those exertions, which are so peculiarly necessary in situations like those described in the foregoing narratives, and this leads me to the consideration of a third important head, that of exercise.

The utility of regular and vigorous exercise to men exposed to the causes inducing scurvy, is abundantly confirmed by experience. Captain Cook seems to attribute his remarkable success in preserving the health of his

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crew, more to great attention to this point, than to any other circumstance. This opinion is greatly corroborated by the relations before us. Captain Monck's crew, wintering with their ships in safety before them, and well furnished with all kinds of sea stores, could have little occasion for labour. The two companies of Dutchmen seem to have done little during their melancholy abode, but drink brandy, and smoke tobacco over their fires. On the other hand, captain James's men were very sufficiently employed in the laborious task of building their pinnace; which, notwithstanding their weak and sickly state, they had nearly completed, before they found the work unnecessary. The three Russians on East Spitzbergen, who survived, are expressly said to have used much exercise by way of preservative; as also, according to counsellor Müller, do those who winter on Nova Zembla. A difficulty, however, here occurs; which is, that we know it to be the custom of the inhabitants of the very northern regions, to spend their long winter night almost entirely under ground; seeming, in that respect, to imitate the animals of the country, which lie torpid in their holes and dens during the winter. From the journal of the eight Englishmen, too, I should judge, that they were inactive during the greater part of the time that the sun was invisible. But it is to be remarked, that in these instances, what I consider as the most powerful cause of the scurvy, the use of salted provisions, did not exist; and therefore less powerful preservatives would be necessary. Further, the English crew had a very scanty allowance of provision of any kind; which would, doubtless, take off from the necessity of much exercise. Thus, the animals which sleep out the winter, take in no nutriment whatsoever, and therefore are not injured by absolute rest.

Exercise is probably serviceable, both by promoting the discharge of effete and corrupted particles by excretion, and by augmenting the animal heat. As far as cold in itself can be supposed a cause of disease, its effects will be most directly opposed by increasing the internal or external heat. And this leads to the consi-

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deration of the further means for guarding against and tempering the intense severity of the wintry air in these climates.

It appears from the journals of the unfortunate sufferers in these attempts, that they endured great miseries from the cold; their fuel soon proving insufficient for their consumption, and their daily increasing weakness preventing them from searching for more, or keeping their fires properly supplied. On the other hand, the English and Russians had not only made their huts very substantial, but had secured plentiful supplies of fuel. And the nations who constantly inhabit the arctic regions, are represented as living in an actually warm atmosphere in their subterraneous dwellings, and guarded by impenetrable coverings when they venture abroad. The animals, too, which retire during the winter, are always found in close caverns or deep burrows, rolled up, and frequently heaped together in numbers, so as to preserve a considerable degree of warmth. Of the several methods of procuring heat, there can be little doubt, that warm clothing, and the mutual contact of animal bodies, must be most friendly, as being most equable, and not inviting such an influx of cold air, as is caused by the burning of an artificial fire. And the advantage of subterraneous lodgings is proved by the well known fact of the unchanging temperature of the air at certain depths beneath the surface.

These are the most material observations that have occurred to me, on reflecting upon the remarkable histories and facts above related. I would flatter myself that they might assist in the framing of such rules and precautions as would render the success of any future attempts of the like kind less precarious. I shall be happy if they prove acceptable to the public; and still more, if they in any degree conduce to the welfare of mankind.

Remarks on the manners, government, laws, and domestic debt of America.—P. 272.

SPECULATIVE philosophers and historians have often described, and sometimes ridiculed the warmth with which nations have de-
V v

fended errors in religion and government. With the most profound deference for wise and respectable men, I must think they are guilty of a mistake; and that the errors which nations fight to defend, exist only in the heads of these theorists. Whatever speculation may tell us, experience and the peace of society require us to consider every thing as right*, which a nation believes to be so. Every institution, every custom, may be deemed just and proper, which does not produce inconveniences that the bulk of mankind can see and feel. The tranquility of society, therefore, should never be disturbed for a philosophical distinction.

It will, perhaps, be objected, that these doctrines, if practised, would prevent all improvements, in science, religion, and government. By no means: but they point out the method in which all improvements should be

NOTE.

* *With due submission to the patriotic writer of this essay, this sentiment, in the extended sense here given to it, is not just. Throughout Europe it was once esteemed meritorious and right, to raise prodigious armies to extirpate the Saracens from Judea, and wade to the Holy Land, through seas of human blood, spilled at the shrine of the most absurd prejudice. In England and Ireland, it was once thought right, to hang a Roman catholic clergyman, if convicted of celebrating divine service a certain number of times. In China—the enlightened China—it is thought right, that a parent, unable to provide for his offspring, may, with more barbarity than the most savage monster, expose the helpless infant on the highway. Even in this new world, which should claim an exemption from the errors and follies of the old, it was once thought right, to fortify a depreciated and depreciating paper currency with a legal tender, the operation of which was—to sap the foundation of morals and manners. In fine, there is hardly a country in the world, wherein, at some period or other, it has not been thought right to practise the most shocking enormities under the mask of the most specious appearances.—C.*

made, when opinion and fixed habits are to be overthrown, or changed. They shew that all reformation should be left to the natural progress of society, or to the conviction of the mind. They shew the hazard or impracticability of changes, before the minds of the body of the people are prepared for the innovation. I speak not of despotic governments, where the will of the prince is enforced by an army; and yet even absolute tyrants have been assassinated for not attending to the spirit and habits of their subjects.

In vain do rulers oppose the general opinion of the people. By such opposition, Philip II. of Spain, kept one part of his subjects, for half a century, butchering the other, and, in the end, lost one third of his dominions. By not regarding the change of habits in the nation, Charles I. of England, lost his head. By carrying his changes too far, Cromwell began to oppose the spirit of the nation, and, had he lived to prosecute his system, that spirit would, in a few years, have brought his neck to the block. The general spirit of the nation restored to the throne the son of the prince, whom that spirit had but a few years before arraigned and condemned. By opposing that spirit, James was obliged to leave his kingdom; and the sense of the nation still excludes the family, which, by their own law of succession, has the best title to the throne. But there is no prescription against general opinion—no right that can enter the lists against the sense of a nation—that sense, which after all our reasonings, will forever determine what is best.

The truth of these remarks is proved by examples in this country. An immense revenue might have been drawn from America without resistance, in almost any method but that which the British parliament adopted. But their first attempts were made upon articles of common necessity—the attempts were too visible—the people felt and resisted. Their apprehensions were alarmed—their fears, whether well founded or imaginary, were multiplied and confirmed by newspaper rhapsodies, and finally produced a combined opposition to all British taxation. Then Great-Britain should

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have compounded—she did not—she opposed the general sense of two millions of her subjects, and lost the whole.

But a question will arise, how far may the people be opposed, when their schemes are evidently pernicious? I answer, this can never happen through design—and errors even of the populace may gradually be removed. If the people cannot be convinced, by reason and argument, of the impolicy or injustice of a favourite scheme, we have only to wait for the consequences, to produce conviction. All people are not capable of just reasoning on the great scale of politics—but all can feel the inconveniencies of wrong measures; and evils of this kind generally furnish their own remedy. All popular legislatures are liable to great mistakes. Many of the acts of the American legislatures respecting money and commerce, will, to future generations, appear incredible. After repeated experiments, people will be better informed, and astonished that their fathers could make such blunders in legislation.

But let us attend to the immediate and necessary consequences of the American revolution.

So great an event as that of detaching millions of people from their parent nation, could not have been effected without the operation of powerful causes. Nothing but a series of real or imaginary evils could have shaken the habits by which we were governed, and produced a combined opposition against the power of Great-Britain. I shall not enumerate any of these evils; but observe that such evils, by twenty years operation upon the fears or feelings of the Americans, had alienated their affections, or weakened those habits of respect, by which we were predisposed to voluntary obedience. When a government has lost respect, it has lost the main pillar of its authority. Not even a military force can supply the want of respect among subjects. A change of sentiment prepares the way for a change of government, and when that change of sentiment had become general in America, nothing could have prevented a revolution.

But it is more easy to excite fears than to remove them. The jealousy,

raised in the minds of American against the British government, wrought a revolution; but the spirit did not then subside—it changed its object, and, by the arts of designing men, and the real distresses, consequent on such a political storm, was directed against our own government. The restraints imposed by respect and habits of obedience, were broken through, and the licentious passions of men set afloat.

Nothing can be so fatal to morals and the peace of society, as a violent shock given to public opinion or fixed habits. Polemic disputes have often destroyed the friendship of a church, and filled it, not only with rancor, but with immorality. Public opinion, therefore, in religion and government, the great supporters of society, should never be suddenly unhinged. The separation of America, however, from all dependence on European government, could not have been effected without previously attacking and changing opinion. It was an essential step—but the effects of it will not easily be repaired. That independence of spirit which preceded the commencement of hostilities, and which victory has strengthened—that love of dominion, inherent in the mind of man, which our forms of government are continually flattering—that licentiousness of enquiry which a jealousy of rights first produced, and still preserves, cannot be controuled and subdued, but by a long series of prudent and vigorous measures.

Perhaps the present age will hardly see the restoration of perfect tranquillity. But the spirit and principles, which wrought our separation from Great-Britain, will mostly die with the present generation; the next generation will probably have new habits of obedience to our governments; and habits will govern them, with very little support from law.

Most of the states had new constitutions of government to form; they had a kind of interregnum—an interval, when respect for all government was suspended—an interval, fatal, in the last degree, to morals and social confidence. This interval between the abolition of the old constitution and the formation of a new one, lasted longer in Massachusetts,

than in the other states, and there the effects were most visible. But perhaps it is impossible to frame a constitution of government, in the closet, which will suit the people, for we frequently find one, the most perfect in theory, the most objectionable in practice. Hence we often hear popular complaints against the present governments in America; and yet these may proceed rather from the novelty of the obedience required, than from any real errors or defects in the systems: it may be nothing but the want of habit which makes people uneasy—the same articles, which now produce clamours and discontent, may, after twenty years practice, give perfect satisfaction. Nay, the same civil regulation, which the present generation may raise a mob to resist, the next generation may raise a mob to defend.

But perhaps a more immediate and powerful cause of a corruption of social principles, is a fluctuation of money. Few people seem to attend to the connexion between money and morals: but it may doubtless be proved to the satisfaction of every reflecting mind, that a sudden increase of specie in a country, and frequent and obvious changes of value, are more fruitful sources of corruption of morals, than any other events that take place in a community.

The first effect of too much money, is to check manual labour, the only permanent source of wealth. Industry, which secures subsistence, and advances our interest by slow and regular gains, is the best preservative of morals: for it keeps men employed, and affords them few opportunities of taking unfair advantages. A regular commerce has nearly the same effect as agriculture or the mechanic arts; for the principles are generally fixed and understood.

Speculation has the contrary effect. As its calculations for profit depend on no fixed principles, but solely on the different value of articles in different parts of the country, or on accidental and sudden variations of value, it opens a field for the exercise of ingenuity in taking advantage of these circumstances.

But the speculators are not the only men whose character and principles

are exposed by such a state of the currency; the honest labourer and the regular merchant are often tempted to forsake their respective lines of profession. Every temptation of this kind attacks the moral principles, and exposes men to small deviations from the rectitude of commutative justice.

Dissipation was another consequence of a flood of money. No country perhaps on earth can exhibit such a spirit of dissipation among men, who derive their support from business, as America. It is supposed by good judges, that the expenses of subsistence, dress, and equipage were nearly doubled in commercial towns, the two first years after peace. I have no doubt the support of the common people was enhanced twenty-five per cent. This augmentation of expenses, with a diminution of productive industry, are the consequences of too much money.

That instability of law, to which republics are prone, is another source of corruption. Multiplication and changes of law have a great effect in weakening the force of government, by preventing or destroying habits. Law acquires force by a steady operation, and government acquires dignity and respect in proportion to the uniformity of its proceedings. Necessity, perhaps, has made our federal and provincial governments frequently shift their measures, and the unforeseen or unavoidable variations of public securities, with the impossibility of commanding the resources of the continent, to fulfil engagements, all predict a continuation of the evil. But the whole wisdom of the legislatures should be exerted to devise a system of measures which may preclude the necessity of changes that tend to bring government into contempt.

Extensive credit in a popular government is always pernicious, and may be fatal. When the people are deeply or generally involved, they have power and strong temptations to introduce an abolition of debts—an agrarian law—or that modern refinement on the Roman plan, which is a substitute for both, a paper currency, issued on depreciating principles.

In governments like ours, it is policy to make it the interest of people to be honest. In short, the whole art

of governing consists in binding each individual by his partial interest, to promote the aggregate interest of the community.

Laws to prevent credit would be beneficial to poor people. With respect to the contraction of debt, people at large, in some measure, resemble children: they are not judges even of their own interest. They anticipate their incomes, and very often, by miscalculation, much more than their incomes. But this is not the worst effect—an easy credit throws them off their guard in their expenses. In general, we observe, that a slow, laborious acquisition of property creates a caution in expenditures, and gradually forms the miser. On the other hand, a sudden acquisition of money, either by gambling, lotteries, privateering or marriage, has a tendency to open the heart, or throw the man off his guard, and thus make him prodigal in his expenses. Perhaps this is ever the case, except when a penurious habit has been previously formed.

An easy and extensive credit has a similar effect. When people can possess themselves of property without previous labour, they consume it with improvident liberality. A prudent man will not; but a large proportion of mankind have not prudence and fortitude enough to resist the demands of pride and appetite. Thus they often riot on other men's property, which they would not labour to procure. They form habits of indolence and extravagance, which ruin their families and impoverish their creditors.

The only way to become rich at home, and respectable abroad, is to become industrious, and to throw off our slavish dependence on foreign manners, which obliges us to sacrifice our opinions, our taste, and our interest, to the policy and aggrandisement of other nations.



On smuggling, and its various species.

THERE are many people that would be thought, and even think themselves, honest men, who fail, nevertheless, in particular points of honesty; deviating from that character sometimes by the prevalence of mode or custom, and sometimes

through mere inattention; so that their honesty is partial only, and not general or universal. Thus, one who would scorn to over-reach you in a bargain, shall make no scruple of tricking you a little now and then at cards; another, that plays with the utmost fairness, shall with great freedom cheat you in the sale of a horse. But there is no kind of dishonesty, into which good people more easily and frequently fall, than that of defrauding government of its revenues by smuggling, when they have an opportunity, or encouraging smugglers by buying their goods.

I fell into these reflexions the other day, on hearing two gentlemen of reputation discoursing about a small estate, which one of them was inclined to sell, and the other to buy; when the seller, in recommending the place, remarked, that its situation was very advantageous on this account, that being on the sea-coast in a smuggling country, one had frequent opportunities of buying many of the expensive articles used in a family, (such as tea, coffee, chocolate, brandy, wines, cambricks, Brussels laces, French silks, and all kinds of India goods,) twenty, thirty, and in some articles fifty per cent. cheaper than they could be had, in the more interior parts, of traders that paid duty. The other honest gentleman allowed this to be an advantage, but insisted that the seller, in the advanced price he demanded on that account, rated the advantage much above its value. And neither of them seemed to think dealing with smugglers, a practice that an honest man (provided he got his goods cheap) had the least reason to be ashamed of.

At a time when the load of our public debt, and the heavy expense of maintaining our fleets and armies to be ready for our defence on occasion, makes it necessary not only to continue old taxes, but often to look out for new ones; perhaps it may not be useless to state this matter in a light that few seem to have considered it in.

The people of Great Britain, under the happy constitution of this country, have a privilege few other countries enjoy; that of choosing the

third branch of the legislature; which branch has alone the power of regulating their taxes. Now, whenever the government finds it necessary for the common benefit, advantage, and safety of the nation, for the security of our liberties, property, religion, and every thing that is dear to us; that certain sums shall be yearly raised by taxes, duties, &c. and paid into the public treasury, thence to be dispensed by government for those purposes; ought not every honest man freely and willingly to pay his just proportion of this necessary expence? can he possibly preserve a right to that character, if by any fraud, stratagem, or contrivance, he avoids that payment in whole or in part?

What should we think of a companion, who, having supped with his friends at a tavern, and partaken equally of the joys of the evening with the rest of us, would nevertheless, contrive by some artifice to shift his share of the reckoning upon others, in order to get off scot-free? if a man who practised this, would, when detected, be deemed and called a scoundrel; what ought he to be called, who can enjoy all the inestimable benefits of public society, and yet by smuggling, or dealing with smugglers, contrive to evade paying his just share of the expence, as settled by his own representatives in parliament; and wrongfully throw it upon his honeller and perhaps much poorer neighbours? he will perhaps be ready to tell me, that he does not wrong his neighbours; he scorns the imputation; he only cheats the king a little, who is very well able to bear it. This, however, is a mistake. The public treasure is the treasure of the nation, to be applied to national purposes. And when a duty is laid for a particular public and necessary purpose, if through smuggling, that duty falls short of raising the sum required, and other duties must therefore be laid to make up the deficiency; all the additional sum laid by the new duties and paid by other people, though it should amount to no more than a halfpenny or a farthing per head, is so much actually picked out of the pockets of those other people, by the smugglers and their abettors and encouragers. Are they then any better or other than pickpocket? and

what mean, low, rascally pickpockets mult those be, that can pickpockets for halfpence and for farthings?

I would not, however, be supposed to allow in what I have just said, that cheating the king is a less offence against honesty, than cheating the public. The king and the public in this case are different names for the same thing; but if we consider the king distinctly, it will not lessen the crime; it is no justification of a robbery, that the person robbed was rich and able to bear it. The king has as much right to justice, as the meanest of his subjects; and as he is truly the common father of his people, those that rob him, fall under the scripture word, pronounced against the son that robeth his father, and saith it is no sin.

Mean as this practice is, do we not daily see people of character and fortune engaged in it for trifling advantages to themselves?—Is any lady ashamed to request of a gentleman of her acquaintance, that, when he returns from abroad, he would smuggle her home a piece of silk or lace from France or Flanders? is any gentleman ashamed to undertake and execute the commission?—not in the least. They will talk of it freely, even before others whose pockets they are thus contriving to pick by this piece of knavery.

Among other branches of the revenue, that of the post-office is, by a late law, appropriated to the discharge of our public debt, to defray the public expenses of the state. None but members of parliament, and a few public officers have now a right to avoid, by a frank, the payment of postage. When any letter, not written by them, or on their business, is franked by any of them, it is a hurt to the revenue; an injury which they must now take the pains to conceal, by writing the whole superscription themselves. And yet, such is our insensibility to injustice, in this particular, that nothing is more common than to see, in a very reputable company, a very honest gentleman or lady declare his or her intention to cheat the nation of three pence by a frank; and, without blushing, apply to one of the very legislators themselves, with a modest request that he would be pleased to become an accomplice

in the crime, and assist in the perpetration?

There are those, who, by these practices, take a great deal in a year out of the public purse, and put the money into their own private pockets. If passing through a room where public treasure is deposited, a man takes the opportunity of clandestinely pocketing and carrying off a guinea, is he not truly and properly a thief? And if another evades paying into the treasury a guinea he ought to pay in, and applies it to his own use, when he knows it belongs to the public as much as that which has been paid in; what difference is there in the nature of the crime, or the baseness of committing it?

Some laws make the receiving of stolen goods equally penal with stealing, and, upon this principle, if there were no receivers there would be few thieves. Our proverb, too, says truly, "that the receiver is as bad as the thief." By the same reasoning, as there would be few smugglers, if there were none who knowingly encouraged them by buying their goods, we may say that the encouragers of smuggling are as bad as the smugglers; and that as smugglers are a kind of thieves, both equally deserve the punishment of thievery.

In this view of wronging the revenue, what must we think of those who can evade paying for their wheels and their plate, in defiance of law and justice, and yet declaim against corruption and speculation, as if their own hands and hearts were pure and unsullied? The Americans offend us grievously, when, contrary to our laws, they smuggle goods into their own country: and yet they had no hand in making those laws. I do not, however, pretend from thence to justify them. But I think the offence much greater in those who either directly or indirectly have been concerned in making the very laws they break. And when I hear them exclaiming against the Americans, and for every little infringement of the acts of trade, or obstruction given by a petty mob to an officer of our customs in that country, calling for vengeance against the whole people as rebels and traitors; I cannot help thinking there are still those in the world who can see a mote in their brother's eye, while they

do not discern a beam in their own; and that the old saying is as true now as ever it was, "one man may better steal a horse, than another look over the hedge."

London, Nov. 24, 1767.

B. F.



The whole process of the silk-worm, from the egg to the cocon; communicated to dr. John Morgan, physician in Philadelphia, in two letters from messrs. Hare and Skinner, silk merchants in London, July 27, 1774, and February 24, 1775.

CHAP. III. Of cocoons royal, perforated cocoons, and soufflons.

THE royal cocoons are those which you have kept for seed. The worm makes a hole in them for his passage, so that they cannot be wound, and are in the same class with the perforated cocoons.

Neither can the soufflons be wound, because their thread being the produce of a weak, sick worm, it has not the gum it ought to contain. Besides, they cannot be wound off, their thread being interlaced, and entangled.

The uses you make of these cocoons are the following; and first for the

Soufflons; you must let them boil for about half an hour in common water, after which you must dry them. When they are quite dry, you must thresh them on the floor with a flail, to bring out the worm, which is reduced to ashes by the fire and air. Afterwards, you put them on a distaff, and open them: to effect which, you must take them by the two ends, and stretch them out at arms length; you may then fasten them on your distaff.

2. With the perforated cocoons, you must observe the same method as for the soufflons, except that you must let them boil three-quarters instead of half an hour, because they contain a greater quantity of gum.

3. The cocoons royal. As it is natural to suppose you keep the best of your cocoons for seed; they are fuller of gum than the others, for which reason you must let them boil an hour; after which you must not thresh them as the former, because they contain no worm, neither is it necessary to stay till they are quite dry, before you spin them; on the contrary, they open more easily when damp. The

produce of these three sorts of cocoons, when worked, makes what we call *fleuret*.

After you have boiled the cocoons, and threshed them well, to shake out the worm they contain, you may card them, instead of opening them as above; you will then make a much more beautiful *fleuret*, and of a brighter colour, but it will, at the same time, come considerably dearer, because of the waste in carding. A good spinster performs a very reasonable day's work, if she can spin an ounce of *fleuret*.

To sum up the whole, and give you an idea of the value of these three sorts of cocoons, you may calculate thus.

If the good cocoons are worth one hundred, the perforated are worth thirty-three one third, the soufflons twenty-five, the royal cocoons two hundred and fifty; but if your royal cocoons are not chosen ones for seed, they are worth but two hundred.

The best *fleuret* is that which proceeds from the royal cocoons, afterwards that of the perforated cocoons unchosen, last of all, that of the soufflons.

CHAP. IV. Of the filature, or winding from the worm.

Although the fresh cocoons, that is to say, those that have not been baked in the oven, yield a brighter silk than those that have, and at the same time yield better weight, by reason of part of their gum which they have not lost by the fire, yet most people prefer those that are baked, in order to have a silk more even in its colour; unless you could have a considerable quantity of fresh cocoons, and time to wind them so; for otherwise, it is undeniable, that the fresh would be much more advantageous, as well for the reason above mentioned, as because they are easier to wind, not having been dried by the fire.

Before you begin to wind, you must prepare your cocoons as follows.

1. In slipping them of that waste silk that surrounds them, and which served to fasten them to the twigs. This burr is proper to stuff quilts, or other such uses; you may likewise spin it to make stockings; but they will be coarse and ordinary.

2. You must sort your cocoons, separating them into different classes in

order to wind them apart. These classes are,

The good white cocoons.

The good cocoons of all the other colours.

The dupions.

The coccalons, among which are included the weak cocoons.

The good choquette; and, lastly,

The bad choquette.

In sorting the cocoons, you will always find some perforated cocoons amongst them, whose worm is already born; those you must set apart for *fleuret*. As I have described above, you will likewise find some soufflons, but very few; for which reason you may put them among the bad choquette, and they run up into waste.

The good cocoons, as well white as yellow, are the easiest to wind; those which require the greatest care and pains, are the coccalons; you must wind them in cooler water than the others, and if you take care to give them to a good windster, you will have as good silk from them as the rest. You must likewise have careful windsters for the dupions and choquettes. These two articles require hotter water than the common cocoons.

The good cocoons are to be wound in the following manner. First choose an open convenient place for your filature, the longer the better, if you intend to have many furnaces and coppers. This building should be high and open on one side, and walled on the other, as well to screen you from the cold winds, and receive the sun, as to give a free passage to the steam of your basons or coppers.

These coppers or basons are to be disposed (when the building will admit of it) in a row on each side of the filature, as being the most convenient method of placing them, for by that means, in walking up and down, you see what every one is about. And these basons should be two and two together, with a chimney between every couple.

Having prepared your reels, (which are turned by hands, and require a quick eye) and your fire being a light one under every bason, your windster must stay till the water is as hot as it can be without boiling. When every thing is now ready, you throw into

your basons two or three handfuls of cocoons, which you gently brush over with a whisk about six inches long, cut stumpy like a broom worn out: by these means the threads of the cocoons stick to the whisk. You must disengage these threads from the whisk, and purge them by drawing these ends with your fingers till they come off entirely clean. This operation is called *la battue*.

When the threads are quite clear, you must pass four of them (if you will wind fine silk) through each of the holes in a thin iron bar that is placed horizontally at the edge of your bason; afterwards you twist the two ends (which consist of four cocoons each) twenty or twenty five times, that the four ends in each thread may the better join together in crossing one another, and that your silk may be plump, which otherwise would be flat.

Your windster must always have a bowl of cold water by her, to dip her fingers in, and to sprinkle very often the said bar, that the heat may not burn the thread. Your threads, when thus twisted, go upon two iron hooks called rampins, which are placed higher, and from thence they go upon the reel. Now at one end of the axis of the reel is a cogwheel, which, catching in the teeth of the pollrampin, moves it from the right to the left, and consequently the thread that is upon it; so that your silk is wound on the reel cross ways, and your threads form two hanks of about four fingers broad.

As often as the cocoons you wind are done, or break or diminish only, you must join fresh ones to keep up the number requisite, or the proportion: I say the proportion, because, as the cocoons wind off, the thread being finer, you must join two cocoons half wound to replace a new one: thus you may wind three new ones and two half wound, and your silk is from four to five cocoons.

When you would join a fresh thread, you must lay one end on your finger, which you throw lightly on the other threads that are winding, and it joins them immediately, and continues to go up with the rest. You must not wind off your cocoons too bare or to the last; because, when

they are near at an end, the *baire*, as we call it, that is the husk, joins in with the other threads, and makes the silk foul and gouty.

When you have finished your first parcel, you must clean your basons, taking out all the striped worms as well as the cocoons, on which there is a little silk, which you first open, and take out the worm, and then throw them into a basket by you, into which you likewise cast the loose silk that comes off in making the *battue*.

You then proceed, as before, with other two or three handfuls of cocoons; you make a new *battue*; you purge them, and continue to wind the same number of cocoons or their equivalent, and so to the end.

As I said above, your windster must always have a bowl of cold water by her, to sprinkle the bar, to cool her fingers every time she dips them in the hot water, and to pour into her bason when necessary, that is, when her bason begins to boil. You must be very careful to twist your threads a sufficient number of times, about twenty-five, otherwise your silk remains flat, instead of being round and full; besides, when the silk is not well crossed, it never can be clean, because a gout or nub that comes from a cocoon will pass through a small number of these twists, though a greater will stop it: your thread then breaks, and you pass what foulness there may be in the middle of your reel, between the two hanks, which serves for a head-band to tie them.

You must mind your water be just in a proper degree of heat. When it is too hot, the thread is dead and has no body; when it is too cold, the ends which form the thread do not join well, and form a harsh ill qualified silk.

You must change the water in your bason four times a-day, for your dupions and choquette, and twice only for good cocoons when you wind fine silk, but if you wind coarse silk, it is necessary to change it three or four times. For if you was not to change the water, the silk would not be so bright and glossy, because the worms contained in the cocoons foul it very considerably. You must endeavour as much as possible to wind with clear water, for if there are too many worms in it, your silk is covered with a kind

of dust, which attracts the moth and destroys your silk.

You may wind your silk of what size you please, from one cocon to a thousand; but it is difficult to wind more than thirty in a thread. The nicety, and that in which consists the greatest difficulty, is to wind even; because, as the cocon winds off, the end is finer, and you must then join other cocoons to keep up the same size. This difficulty of keeping the silk always even, is so great, that (excepting a thread of two cocoons, which we call such) we do not say a silk of three, of four, or of six cocoons, but a silk of three to four, of four to five, of six to seven cocoons. If you proceed to a coarser silk, you cannot calculate so nicely as to one cocon more or less. We say, for example, from twelve to fifteen, from fifteen to twenty, and so on.

It is easy to conceive, that it is more difficult to wind a coarse silk even, than a fine one, because it is harder to keep a great number of cocoons always to the same size, than a small one.

The dupions which you design for rondelette, or ordinary sewing silk, are to be wound from fifteen to twenty. The rest you may wind as coarse as possible, i. e. from forty to fifty: they serve to cover and fill up in coarse stuffs, and may likewise be used for some sort of sewing silk.

The good choquette is to be wound according to the uses to which you intend to apply it; however, not finer than from seven to eight. The bad choquette you may wind from fifteen to twenty cocoons.

In winding the good cocoons, you will always meet with some defective which will not wind off and are full of gouts and nubs. These you must take out of your bason and keep by themselves. They are called bassinats. They are to be wound apart as coarse as you can. They make a foul, dirty silk. To have a good silk, you must wind in fine weather. If the wind be high, it shakes your silk, prevents its lying smooth on the reel, and forms strings of threads, which make it very difficult to wind on bobbins. If the weather is rainy, the silk is damp, and has not that lustre it ought to have, or which it has when it dries,

as it goes upon the reel. You must mind not to hank it when damp, but let it dry on the reel; otherwise it would be surzy.

I have now only to speak of the waste that comes from the battue, and the husks of the cocoons, that have still some silk upon them, which are thrown into baskets in winding, and are what we call morelques. These you first dry in the sun, then thresh, and afterwards card and spin them to make fleuret. One hundred and fifty ounces of good cocoons yield about eleven ounces of silk from five to six cocoons; if you wind coarser, something more. You may wind about eleven or twelve ounces of silk from five to six cocoons in fourteen hours.

The silk which is made of bassinats and bad choquette serves to make stockings and coarse heavy lints, such as satinades and damasks for hangings, &c. &c.



Extracts from an essay entitled "national arithmetic, or observations on the finances of the commonwealth of Massachusetts."

What labour is profitable, and what unprofitable to the state.—P. 259.

Whale fishery.

THERE was not before the revolution, and there is not now, any part in America, or in Europe, where whaling vessels can be fitted for sea, to so much advantage, as they can be at Nantucket. From long habit, and a perseverance peculiar to themselves, the people of this place, with their neighbouring islanders, the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard, have become the most expert and knowing in the whale fishery, of any people on earth. The merchants there, had for many years bent their whole attention to this branch of labour, had reduced every expense, and brought all their supplies, to the nicest point of saving: indeed the manners, dress, and living of most of the people on Nantucket, are models, from which all ranks ought to take pattern; and should this ever be the case, I may venture to affirm, that this commonwealth will become opulent, great, and respectable. It is not necessary to be of the religious profession of the

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quakers; but to use economy in living, plainness in dress, and frugality in all the appendages of furniture, carriages, &c. is what reason and common sense dictate to us. These people follow strictly those principles, and are the brightest example of those practices, which form the good American citizens, and the most profitable labourers in the community.

During the late revolution, this branch of labour (the whale fishery) almost ceased. In the year 1775, the inhabitants of Nantucket owned 150 sail of whaling vessels. In the year 1784, they had but 19 sail. In 1775, those vessels carried from ten to 11000 tons. In 1784, these carried only 2400 tons. A decline, in so excessive a degree, of so great a part of the profitable labour in the state, could not, after the peace, pass long unobserved by the legislature. Accordingly, in a late general court, there was a bounty granted, of twenty dollars per ton, on all oil, caught in vessels, the property of citizens of the commonwealth; but I am afraid, whilst Great Britain opposes it, by an eighty dollar duty, that, unless other markets shall be found, that will take it off our hands, at a profit, this great branch of our labour must fall, or be removed to Nova Scotia or to England, where the high price is a bait, which several have not, and more will not be able to resist.

Whale oil.

It is wise in France, to admit into her kingdom, as she has done lately, a certain quantity of our oil, on terms not disadvantageous to us. This measure insures to her a certain remittance, and bids fair to be a means of introducing a business, which will be truly beneficial to her, and productive of much traffic with New England.

Commercial treaty with Britain.

It behoves congress, (and I have no doubt but they have bestowed a suitable attention on this subject) to use every means in their power to obtain a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, which shall, in some degree, lessen the dismal prospect, which now forces itself upon us, of the destruction of this hitherto profitable branch of our labour.

Wool-combing, &c.

The wool-comber and the flax-

dresser, with the spinners and weavers of the articles they furnish, are most profitable labourers. Most of the merchandize imported from Europe, at least all that is necessary, is the product of their different labours. Whilst a country like this, abounding in pasture and fodder, to raise the sheep that supply the wool, and with fields, on which to grow the flax, shall import many of those necessaries, of a coarse and plain kind, it cannot continue long in affluence, if in comfortable circumstances: yet, true it is, whilst these things are so easily obtained by our own labour, and when our women and yeomen are idle a great part of the year—(during which time they might be employed in useful labour)—we are expending our substance for such articles as we may have within ourselves; and are bleeding to death to obtain, in addition to these, the most useless, costly dresses that European luxury can invent. Ribands of various shades and figures, silks and satins, silk and morocco-shoes, gauzes and feathers, for the women; silk-stockings, satin-breeches and waistcoats for the men, compose the greatest part of the modern dress, even where it can be least afforded. The two articles of linen and woolen manufacture, added to those of the hatter and shoe-maker, the tanner and currier, form all that are necessary for common use in the dress of man and woman. The materials for these tradesmen's manufactures abound within ourselves, and these, with our labour upon them, will be amply sufficient to supply the inhabitants of the commonwealth. I hope to see such labours encouraged, and that we shall soon cease from importing any of the coarser clothing into the state.

Domestic manufactures.

Wool-ens and linens.

Before the late war, (and we have more diffusive means within ourselves since) there was scarce a family out of the sea-port towns, which did not supply itself with woolen and linen cloth from the labour of its own hands, without retarding the improvement of their farms, by taking such hours for this purpose as could not be employed in agriculture. If any one did not raise sheep, he might purchase from him that did, or barter with him for

flax or some other commodity, which the other wanted. Every plat of land, or farm, is not calculated to raise all the articles necessary for the making of clothing: but, every person may, by improving his lands to the utmost, obtain with the produce of them, what he wants, from others. A few pounds weight of wool or flax, will provide staples for more cloth, than one family can commonly want; and these being obtained, the labour necessary to prepare them for use is furnished by a man's own family. The mistress, daughter and maid-servant, comb the wool and spin it into yarn. The flax being broken, cleaned and dressed by the maller, son or man-servant, is by the woman drawn into thread. The yarn and thread thus furnished, are speedily woven into cloth, by one who professedly follows that employment, or by a woman or man in the family, on a loom, kept for the purpose, in almost every thrifty farmer's house. Most of the time used in those different operations, may be that, which otherwise would have been spent idly, when no out-door business could be followed; and time thus improved, is just as profitable as money saved; so many hours labour, being worth exactly so much cash as it could be purchased for, of others.

Stockings.

Another part of clothing, namely, stockings, might be knit at such seasons, and by such persons, as could give no interruption, to any other business. A woman, at paying her neighbourly visits, with great propriety, might amuse herself in knitting; so she could many hours in her house—old women and children, who are so far in the extremes of life, as to be unfit for labours of attention or fatigue, might be employed in making stockings.

Leather.

The hides of the calves, sheep and oxen, which every farmer must kill yearly, will afford him a much larger quantity of leather than is necessary for the supply of shoes for the family—and hence the leather needed by those who are not farmers, and who are principally concerned in employments on the sea, or who live on shore by the profits of others labours at sea.

Hats.

The finest of the wool, with the furs

which are to be found in the wilderness every season, are more than sufficient to supply the whole country with hats.

Cloths, &c.

From this aggregate of labours, we can most indisputably be supplied with clothing; and although it may be looked upon by some as chimerical, yet it is demonstratively true, that there is not the smallest necessity, that any part of the coarser clothing should be supplied by foreign nations. Nay, before the war, two thirds of our fishermen were clad with the cloth manufactured amongst ourselves, which, being found stronger, though not so well dressed, was very properly preferred. Indeed every one knows, that that cloth, whether cotton or linen, which is sometimes brought to market from the country, and is made by the industrious few, is stronger, and cheaper, than that of the same quality, as to fineness, which is imported.

When a country, like England, exports large quantities of cloths, numerous manufactories must be employed to afford the supply, and as there must necessarily be persons to buy up the wool, so there must be merchants to purchase that wool and deliver it to the spinners; others, again, who buy up the yarn, and deliver it to the weavers, and woolen dressers, who buy the cloth in the rough, polish it, and sell it to the woolen drapers: by them it is sold to the exporters; by the wholesale trader in America to the retailer. Each of these must have a profit proportioned to his time, to the interest of his money and the risque of the credit he gives. Cloth thus supplied comes doubly dearer than that which a man can make at home; notwithstanding a manufactory of twenty looms furnishes a much cheaper supply than one of a single loom,* yet as all the labourers in the different

NOTE.

* "A man not educated to the pin making business, could scarce perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater

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stages, are in the husbandman's own family, and as the business may be done, at seasons and hours, when nothing else would be done, there is a double reason why we should manufacture our own clothing. Upon the whole, it is concluded, that the wool-comber and flax-dresser, the spinner and weaver, tanner, currier, shoemaker, and hatter, are all profitable labourers, and ought to receive the particular attention of government, and that each should have every encouragement possible. To this end it may be hinted, that sheep and flax, and their value, ought to be exempted from taxation, and ought not to be included in any general valuation (indeed I believe sheep were not in the last valuation), and that a bounty should be given to those who should raise the mool of each. That leather made, or not made, into shoes, and hats imported, should not be highly duties, but absolutely prohibited. This, to prevent smuggling, is the best way that can be taken as to all articles that may be had amongst ourselves. It will prevent much perjury, and encourage our manufactures.

NOTE.

part are likewise peculiar trades. The important business of making a pin, is divided into eighteen distinct operations. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind where ten men only were employed, and where some of them consequently performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. These ten persons, therefore, could make among them, upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had wrought all separately and independently, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day." Nature and causes of the wealth of nations, by dr. Adam Smith.

Masts, spars, &c.

The person who forms the stately pines and oaks, into masts, spars, boards, joists, deals, timber, staves, &c. so as to make them fit for exportation or home use, is also a profitable labourer to the state†. The sum arising from the product of our extensive forests, forms a great part of the wealth and resources of this state. For some years before the late war, four million feet of pine boards; one million feet of oak boards; about thirty million of shingles; three thousand tons of masts, yards, and bowsprits; ten thousand tons of pine timber; three thousand tons of oak timber, besides large quantities of hoops, staves, and joists, and about sixty sail of ships, were exported from the Massachusetts in one year; and these accounts being mostly taken from Lord Sheffield's observations on the commerce of the American states, it may readily be concluded, are not exaggerated.

No country can deprive Massachusetts of any branch of this trade by underselling her at a foreign market, although she severely feels the check given to shipbuilding, since the rulers of almost every trading nation, have declared their navigation shall be conducted wholly in ships of their own building: but as a balance to this, I hope soon to see congress fully empowered to regulate our trade, and that no powers will be allowed to

NOTE.

† "Those who gave up the territory of Penobscot, east of Casco Bay, which was in our possession, deserve the utmost degree of censure. It is by far the finest part of America for the articles now in question; and they have also given up a very fine fishery, fine harbour, and the best river along that coast. The coast abounds with lumber fit for the navy and for private uses, sufficient to supply Britain for ages; but which may now form the grand resource of the American states for these articles. The white pine, (which abounds in these parts and is known in Britain by the name of the Weymouth or New-England pine), is by far the best for masts and spars, and grows to a prodigious height." Lord Sheffield,—on commerce, p. 78.

transport for us, which prohibits us from transporting for them.

The lumber business has this disadvantage attending it, that it prevents agriculture in those parts where it is followed. The eastern parts of this state are a striking proof of this. It was eventually beneficial to the people of those parts, that the late war, whilst it debarred them of the privilege of sending their boards to market, forced them to bestow some attention on the cultivation of the fields, which otherwise, as is too frequently the case, after being cleared, would have been over-run again with brush and young wood. The preference given to lumbering arises from a love of ease more than a provident care and foresight. When the tree is felled, and the logs are hawled to the mill, the labour is over; the surveyor takes his toll or fees from the boards he has sawn out of the logs, and the owner sells the remainder to the merchant or to the captains of vessels, who may be waiting for them in exchange for rum, provisions, and clothing. Being thus easily supplied with the necessaries of life, the cultivation of the field is neglected, no orchard is planted, idleness a great part of the year prevails, of course, introduces vice of different kinds, particularly that horrid one, drunkenness; and the almost certain consequence is want. As age advances, the lumberer's abilities to provide for himself and family decrease more rapidly, than the timber re-grows—hence we behold poverty and a naked country, in many parts, east of Kennebeck river. The soil and capabilities of the country, have been observed, and wherever the industrious had cleared a field and cultivated it, and had planted fruit trees, there were rich returns and good orchards. Hence it may be concluded, that the lumber business is profitable to the state, provided means could be fallen upon to prevent the noncultivation of those lands which have been robbed of their timber, and this, in my opinion, would be easiest done, by taxing such lands in a considerable proportion, as improvable lands are; by erecting courts of justice in different parts east of Pownalborough, and by dividing the county of Lincoln into two or more judicial districts.

But what must give the greatest encouragement to clearing and cultivating the eastern parts of this commonwealth, is, that as soon as the produce of any labour is fit for sale, the numerous navigable rivers, which intersect the whole country at easy distances, and the extensive course of sea coast, will admit shipping to almost every man's door, and thereby an opportunity is afforded for disposing of it immediately, by which quick transfer, a poor man may turn every days work into necessities for the next day, and, with the price of his lumber, pay himself for his labour and for the purchase money of his land, so that a farm once cleared, in those parts, really costs the owner nothing. An inland farmer is forced to have large quantities of stores laid up for himself and his labourers, to supply them for months, nor can he advantage himself by the timber, &c. on his land: but, fortunately, as no country is by nature advantaged exclusively, so the people of the old province of Massachusetts happily have no situation more than forty-five miles from water carriage—a convenience which few of the sister states are accommodated with. Worcester I conceive to be the most central of the inland parts of the state; well, it is about forty-five miles to Connecticut river; east, the same distance to the bay, south, much less to Providence; and north, about as far from Merrimack.

Besides those mentioned, there are many classes of labourers in the state, which need not be named to determine their usefulness—of such are the paper makers, printers*, clothiers, workers in iron, as axe and other edge tool makers, nail makers, cast iron manufacturers, glass makers, and mechanics in general.

Thus much, with respect to that labour which I think is profitable to the state.

[To be continued.]

NOTE.

* It is a shame that primers, spelling and other school books, should be allowed to be imported from Great Britain, when so many of the printers in this state are forced to be idle in consequence of it.

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An account of the earthquakes which have happened in New England, since the first settlement of the English in that country, especially of that, which happened on October 29, 1727. Communicated to the royal society by Paul Dudley, esq. F. R. S. in a letter to the secretary.

SIR, Roxbury, Nov. 13, 1727.

YOU will doubtless from the public prints have an account of the terrible earthquake that happened here on the 29th of October last in the night; however, I think it my duty, and hope it will be acceptable to the society, to have the particulars from one of their own members.

That this country is subject to earthquakes is certain; and we have been often admonished of it since the first settlement of the English here, which now is about an hundred years. Our printed books, and other good records, have taken notice of the most remarkable that have happened. The first and most considerable earthquake that I find in our history, and which seems to have been much like our last, was on the second of June, 1638. This is said (by the author, who was a gentleman of character and probity) "to have been a great and fearful earthquake; it was heard before it came, with a rumbling noise or low murmur, like unto remote thunder; it came from the northward, and passed southward; as the noise approached near, the earth began to quake; and it came at length with that violence, as caused platters, tiles, &c. to fall down; yea, people were afraid of their houses. The shock was so violent and great, as that some being without-doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts, &c. About half an hour after, or less, came another noise and shaking, but not so loud nor strong as the former: ships and vessels in the harbour were shaken," &c. In 1658, there was another very great earthquake, but no particulars related. In 1660, January 31st, a great earthquake. In 1662, January 26th, about six o'clock at night, there happened an earthquake, which shook the houses, caused the inhabitants to run out into the streets, and the tops of several chimnies fell down. About the middle of the

same night was another shake; also in the morning following the earth shook again. In 1665, and in 1668, and 1669, the earth was shaken; since which we have also had several tremors of the earth, but not very considerable; so that our people began to hope we should hear no more of them. But we are now convinced that New England is still liable to the same terror and desolation that other countries are, from these extraordinary motions of the earth.

I now proceed to give the best account I can, of our late terrible earthquake, which has so justly amazed and terrified the inhabitants from one end of the country to the other. The first thing I shall begin with, is, to give a short account of the weather or season preceding the earthquake: our winter in January and February was very moderate, and excepting a few cold days, the weather was pleasant, and no great frost in the ground. In the beginning of March, we had a great deal of snow, and cold weather, which soon went over; and on the 11th day, 15 minutes after four o'clock, the sun was eclipsed about five digits, as near as I could make it without an instrument; after which, to the end of the month, we had pleasant weather, rain at times, and once we had thunder and lightning. April for the most part had fair pleasant spring weather, and a plentiful rain in the beginning and latter end of the month. The beginning of May was also pleasant weather; the 9th, 10th, and 13th a great deal of rain: the 18th a white frost: 24th and 25th cold weather; from thence to the end of the month very dry. The beginning of June the same; abundance of thunder and lightning at times during the whole month. In July also, though we had some showers in different places, yet in general it was a very dry season, and a great deal of thunder and lightning also this month; the three last days of it so violently hot, that there was no working or travelling by day, or sleeping by night: the beginning of August was also exceedingly hot, and in particular the first day at night, from the evening to midnight, we had a continued conflagration or lightning all round the horizon; the like scarce

ever remembered : it was truly terrible, though the thunder was not severe. Dry weather continued to the 10th, and then we had a plentiful rain all over the province, but our hot weather held on to the end of the month ; and till about the middle of September, we had very hot weather : so that, take it all together, I have never known so much hot weather in any one summer in my time. On the 16th of September, we had such a violent storm from the north-east, as was never remembered, for the fierceness and strength of the wind ; it blew down houses, barns, and an infinite number of trees in our orchards and woods ; a great deal of rain also then fell. In the month of October, preceding the earthquake, we had a pretty deal of cold weather ; on the 23d, a great deal of rain, with the south wind ; on the 25th at night, a hard frost ; on the 26th, winterish weather, and a little snow ; 28th, cold, the wind at north west : Lord's day, 29th, the wind at north west, though little of it, but cold ; in the evening, quite calm and a clear sky.

By this short journal of the weather, the learned will be able in some measure to say, how far our earth might be disposed to, or prepared for the earthquake that followed ; first, by a long continued drought and extreme heat, whereby the earth became more porous, and abounded with exhalations or vapours inflamed, and which afterwards being shut up by the succeeding great rains and frost, and thereby hindered from an ordinary and easy passage through the pores and common vents of the earth, worked so much more forcibly and terribly upon one another. But philosophers not being yet agreed on the nature or certain causes of earthquakes, I pass on to the second thing which I proposed to enquire into, viz. what kind or sort of earthquake ours was. *Gilbertus Jacchaenus*, in his *institutiones physicae, cap. Terrae Motus*, distinguishes earthquakes into four species ; wherein he agrees with Aristotle and Pliny, with whom the first species is a shake or trembling, and by them likened to the shaking fit of an ague. I cannot yet hear of any breach or opening of the earth, through the whole extent of our

earthquake. It has been said by some that were abroad, that the earth sensibly rose up, and so sank down again ; but I much question the truth of it ; for if there had been any such succussion to raise the earth to any considerable height, the houses would certainly have tumbled down, or the exhalation forced its way by some breach. Nor was our motion of the earth that which Aristotle and Pliny call a pulse, or an intermittent knocking, but one continued shake or trembling ; and therefore must be ranked under the first species, viz. a tremor or shake, without altering the position of the earth, and left all things in the same posture in which it found them, except the falling down of the tops of some chimnies, stone walls, &c., without doors ; dishes and some other things within doors ; which I shall observe when I come to speak of the degree of the shake.

That our earthquake was of the first species, is also proved from the found that accompanied it, since tremulous and vibrating motions are proper to produce sounds ; which brings me to the third particular, viz. the noise or sound that accompanied or immediately preceded our earthquake. This indeed was very terrible and amazing ; though I am apt to think it was thought more considerable by those within doors, than such as were without in the air. Some of our people took this noise to be thunder ; others compared it to the rattling of coaches and carts upon pavements, or frozen ground. One of my neighbours likened it to the shooting out of a load of stones from a cart under his window. For my own part, being perfectly awake, though in bed, I thought at first my servants, who lodged in a garret over my chamber, were hauling along a trundle-bed : but, in truth, the noise that accompanies an earthquake seems to be *sonus sui generis*, and there is no describing it. This noise, as amazing as it was, in an instant of time, as one may say, was succeeded by a shake much more terrible. My house, which is large and well built, seemed to be squeezed or pressed up together, as though an hundred screws had been at work to throw it down : and shook not only every thing in the house, particularly

the bed under me, but the building itself, and every part of it, so violently for the time, that I was truly in great fear it would have tumbled down, and my family have perished in the ruin: but through the great power and mercy of God, we received no harm. 'Tis impossible to describe the terror and amazement that an earthquake carries with it; and though I had never felt one before, yet I was thoroughly convinced what it was at the very time. (*To be continued.*)



ALBANY PLAN OF UNION. P. 287.

New settlements.

THAT they, [the president general and council,] make new settlements on such purchases [of lands from the Indians,] by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit rent to the crown, for the use of the general treasury*.

NOTE.

* It is supposed better that there should be one purchaser than many; and that the crown should be that purchaser, or the union, in the name of the crown. By this means, the bargains may be more easily made, the price not enhanced by numerous bidders, future disputes about private Indian purchases and monopolies of vast tracts to particular persons (which are prejudicial to the settlement and peopling of a country) prevented; and the land being again granted in small tracts to the settlers, the quit rents reserved may in time become a fund for support of government, for defence of the country, ease of taxes, &c.

Strong forts on the lakes, the Ohio, &c. may, at the same time they secure our present frontiers, serve to defend new colonies settled under their protection; and such colonies would also mutually defend and support such forts, and better secure the friendship of the far Indians.

A particular colony has scarce strength enough to extend itself by new settlements, at so great a distance from the old: but the joint force of the union might suddenly establish a new colony or two in those parts, or extend an old colony to particular passes, greatly to the security of our present frontiers, increase of trade and peo-

VOL. V.

Laws to govern them.

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments†.

Raise soldiers, and equip vessels, &c.

That they raise and pay soldiers, build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature‡.

NOTES.

ple, breaking off the French communication between Canada and Louisiana, and speedy settlement of the intermediate lands.

The power of settling new colonies is therefore thought a valuable part of the plan; and what cannot be so well executed by two unions as by one.

† The making of laws suitable for the new colonies, it was thought would be properly vested in the president general and grand council; under whose protection they will at first necessarily be, and who would be well acquainted with their circumstances, as having settled them. When they are become sufficiently populous, they may, by the crown, be formed into complete and distinct governments.

The appointment of a subpresident by the crown, to take place in case of the death or absence of the president general, would perhaps be an improvement of the plan; and if all the governors of particular provinces were to be formed into a standing council of state, for the advice and assistance of the president general, it might be another considerable improvement.

‡ It was thought, that quotas of men, to be raised and paid by the several colonies, and joined for any public service, could not always be got together with the necessary expedition. For instance, suppose one thousand men should be wanted in New Hampshire on any emergency; to fetch them by fifties and hundreds out of every colony as far as South Carolina, would be inconvenient, the transportation chargeable, and the occasion, perhaps, passed before they could be assembled; and therefore that it would be best to raise them (by offering boun-

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Power to make laws, lay duties, &c.

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burdens*.

NOTES.

ty money and pay) near the place where they would be wanted, to be discharged again, when the service should be over.

Particular colonies are at present backward to build forts at their own expence, which they say will be equally useful to their neighbouring colonies; who refuse to join, on a presumption that such forts will be built and kept up, though they contribute nothing. This unjust conduct weakens the whole; but the forts being for the good of the whole, it was thought best they should be built and maintained by the whole, out of the common treasury.

In the time of war, small vessels of force are sometimes necessary in the colonies, to scour the coast of small privateers. These being provided by the union, will be an advantage in turn to the colonies which are situated on the sea, and whose frontiers on the land side, being covered by other colonies, reap but little immediate benefit from the advanced forts.

* The laws which the president general and grand council are empowered to make, are such only as shall be necessary for the government of the settlements; the raising, regulating, and paying soldiers for the general service; the regulating of Indian trade; and laying and collecting the general duties and taxes. (They should also have a power of restraining the exportation of provisions to the enemy from any of the colonies, on particular occasions in time of war). But it is not intended that they may interfere with the constitution and government of the particular colonies; who are to be left to their own laws, and to lay, levy, and apply their own taxes as before.

General treasurer and particular treasurer.

That they may appoint a general treasurer and particular treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient†.

Money, how to issue.

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the president general and grand council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the president general is previously empowered by an act, to draw for such sums‡.

Accounts.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled, and reported to the several assemblies§.

Quorum.

That a quorum of the grand council empowered to act with the president general, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies¶.

NOTES.

† The treasurers here meant are only for the general funds; and not for the particular funds of each colony, which remain in the hands of their own treasurers at their own disposal.

‡ To prevent misapplication of the money, or even application that might be dissatisfactory to the crown or the people, it was thought necessary to join the president general and grand council in all issues of money.

§ By communicating the accounts yearly to each assembly, they will be satisfied of the prudent and honest conduct of their representatives in the grand council.

¶ The quorum seems large, but it was thought it would not be satisfactory to the colonies in general, to have matters of importance to the whole transacted by a smaller number, or even by this number of twenty-five, unless there were among them one at least from a majority of the colonies; because otherwise the whole quorum being made up of members from three or four colonies at one end of the union, something might be done that would not be equal with respect to the

Laws to be transmitted.

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council, for approbation as soon as may be after their passing; and, if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.*

Death of the president general.

That in case of the death of the president general, the speaker of the grand council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the king's pleasure be known.†

Officers, how appointed.

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president general; but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president general's approbation before they officiate.‡

NOTES.

rest, and thence dissatisfactions and discords might arise, to the prejudice of the whole.

* This was thought necessary for the satisfaction of the crown, to preserve the connexion of the parts of the British empire with the whole, of the members with the head, and to induce greater care and circumspection in making of the laws, that they be good in themselves, and for the general benefit.

† It might be better, perhaps, as was said before, if the crown appointed a vice president, to take place on the death or absence of the president general; for so we should be more sure of a suitable person at the head of the colonies. On the death or absence of both, the speaker to take place (or rather the eldest king's governor) till his majesty's pleasure be known.

‡ It was thought it might be very prejudicial to the service, to have officers appointed unknown to the people, or unacceptable; the generality of Americans serving willingly under officers they know, and not caring to en-

Vacancies, how supplied.

But in case of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint till the pleasure of the president general and grand council can be known. † *Each colony may defend itself on emergency, &c.*

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding;

NOTES.

gage in the service under strangers, or such as are often appointed by governors through favour or interest. The service here meant, is not the stated settled service in standing troops; but any sudden and short service, either for defence of our own colonies, or invading the enemy's country; (such as the expedition to Cape Breton in the last war; in which many substantial farmers and tradesmen engaged as common soldiers under officers of their own country, for whom they had an esteem and affection; who would not have engaged in a standing army, or under officers from England). It was therefore thought best to give the council the power of approving the officers, which the people will look upon as a great security of their being good men. And without some such provision as this, it was thought the expense of engaging men in the service on any emergency would be much greater, and the number who could be induced to engage much less; and that therefore it would be most for the king's service and general benefit of the nation, the prerogative should relax a little in this particular throughout all the colonies in America; as it had already done much more in the charters of some particular colonies, viz. Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The civil officers will be chiefly treasurers and collectors of taxes; and the suitable persons are most likely to be known by the council.

† The vacancies were thought best supplied by the governors in each province, till a new appointment can be regularly made; otherwise the service might suffer before the meeting of the president general and grand council.

and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself and lay the accounts of expence thence arising before the president general and grand council, who may allow and order payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts reasonable*.

On reflexion, it now seems probable, that if the foregoing plan, or something like it, had been adopted and carried into execution, the subsequent separation of the colonies from the mother country might not so soon have happened, nor the mischiefs suffered on both sides have occurred, perhaps, during another century. For the colonies, if so united, would have really been, as they then thought themselves, sufficient to their own defence; and, being trusted with it, as by the plan, an army from Britain, for that purpose, would have been unnecessary. The pretences for framing the Stamp act would then not have existed, nor the other projects for drawing a revenue from America to Britain by acts of parliament, which were the cause of the breach, and attended with such terrible expence of blood and treasure; so that the different parts of the empire might still have remained in peace and union. But the fate of this plan was singular. After many days thorough discussion of all its parts, in congress, it was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be sent to the assembly of each province for concurrence, and one to the ministry in England for the approbation of the crown. The crown disapproved it, as having placed too much weight in the democratic part of the constitution; and every assembly, as having allowed too much to prerogative: so it was totally rejected.

Philadelphia, April 9, 1789.

NOTE.

* Otherwise the union of the whole would weaken the parts, contrary to the design of the union. The accounts are to be judged of by the president general and grand council, and allowed if found reasonable: this was thought necessary to encourage colonies to defend themselves, as the expence would be light when borne by the whole; and also to check imprudent and lavish expence in such defences.

Free thoughts upon the cause and cure of the pulmonary consumption.

From medical enquiries and observations; by Dr. Rust. P. 249.

BUT how shall these remedies be applied in the time of peace, or in a country where the want of woods, and brooks without bridges, forbid the attainment of the laborious pleasures of the Indian mode of hunting; or where the universal extent of civilization does not admit of our advising the toils of a new settlement, and improvements upon bare creation? Under these circumstances, I conceive substitutes may be obtained for each of them, nearly of equal efficacy, and attainable with much less trouble.

1. Doctor Sydenham pronounced riding on horseback, to be as certain a cure for consumptions as bark is for an intermitting fever. I have no more doubt of the truth of this assertion, than I have that inflammatory fevers are now less frequent in London, than they were in the time of doctor Sydenham. If riding on horseback in consumptions has ceased to be a remedy in Britain, the fault is in the patient, and not in the remedy. "It is a sign that the stomach requires milk," (says doctor Cadogan) "when it cannot bear it." In like manner, the inability of the patient to bear this manly and wholesome exercise, serves only to demonstrate the necessity and advantages of it. I suspect the same objections to this exercise which have been made in Britain, will not occur in the united states of America; for the Americans, with respect to the symptoms and degrees of epidemic and chronic diseases, appear to be nearly in the same state that the inhabitants of England were in the seventeenth century. I can easily conceive the vigour of the human constitution to have been such in doctor Sydenham's time, as that a desluxion or ulcer in the lungs should have had no more effect in increasing the action of the arterial system, than a moderate inflammation of the eyes has at present in exciting an inflammatory fever in a good constitution: hence the safety and advantage formerly of riding on horseback in pulmonary complaints. We find, in proportion to the decline of the vigour of the body, that many occasional

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causes produce fever and inflammation, which would not have done it an hundred years ago.

2. The laborious employments of agriculture, if steadily pursued, and accompanied at the same time by the simple, but wholesome diet of a farmhouse, and a hard bed, would probably afford a good substitute for the toils of a savage or military life.

3. Such occupations or professions as require constant labour or exercise in the open air, in all kinds of weather, may easily be chosen for a young man who, either from hereditary predisposition, or an accidental affection of the lungs, is in danger of falling into a consumption. In this we should imitate the advice given by some wise men, always to prefer those professions for our sons which are the least favourable to the corrupt inclinations of their hearts. For example, where an undue passion for money, or a crazy disposition discover themselves in early life, we are directed to oppose them by the less profitable and more disinterested professions of divinity, or physic, rather than cherish them by trade, or the practice of the law*.

4. There is a case recorded by doctor Smollet, of the efficacy of the cold bath in a consumption; and I have heard of its being used with success on a negro man in one of the West-India islands. To render this remedy useful, or even safe, it will be necessary to join it with labour, or to use it in degrees that shall prevent the alternation of the system with vigour and debility: for I take the cure of consumption to depend upon the simple action of tonic, without the

NOTE.

* It is very common for parents to prefer sedentary occupations for such of their children as are of delicate constitution, and the more active occupations for those of them who are robust. The reverse of this practice should be followed. The weakly children should be trained to the laborious, and the robust to the sedentary occupations. From a neglect of this practice, many hundred apprentices to tailors, shoemakers, conveyancers, watchmakers, silversmiths, mantuamakers, &c. &c. perish every year by consumptions.

least mixture of debilitating powers. Indeed, I conceive it to be easier to palliate the symptoms, and prolong life, by the use of the powers which are simply debilitating, than by a mixture of both of them. This is not a solitary fact in the human body. We often see a stiff neck and spasms, brought on by a person's being exposed, at the same time, to a stream of air from a door or window, and to the heat of a warm room, where neither would have been injurious, if it had acted singly upon the system. There are many extremes in physic, as in other things, which meet in a point. There is an inflammatory diathesis connected with debility, as certainly as with an excess of tone in the arterial system. And I think I have seen greater degrees of this inflammatory diathesis in the male inhabitants of cities, than of the country, and more in women, than in men. I have moreover seen the most acute inflammatory diseases where the system had been previously debilitated by a long continuance of warm weather, or of an obdurate intermitting fever, and in too many instances by the use of spiritous liquors. This species of inflammatory diathesis appears to arise, therefore, from what has been called, and perhaps not improperly, indirect debility. Is it the presence of this species of inflammatory diathesis which renders consumptions so much more difficult to cure than formerly? Is it this which often renders riding on horseback so ineffectual, or so injurious in this disorder? I suspect it is; and it is to be lamented that it often requires so much time, or such remedies to remove this species of inflammatory diathesis, as to reduce the patient too low to make use of those remedies afterwards which would effect a radical cure.

If it were possible to graduate the tone of the system by means of a scale, I would add, that to cure consumptions, the system should be raised to the highest degree of this scale. Nothing short of an equilibrium of tone, or a free and vigorous action of every muscle and viscus in the body, will fully come up to a radical cure for consumptions.

In regulating the diet of consumptive patients, I conceive it to be as

necessary to feel the pulse, as it is in determining when and in what quantity to draw blood. Where indirect inflammatory diathesis prevails, a vegetable diet is certainly proper; but where the patient has escaped, or passed this stage of the disorder, I believe a vegetable diet alone to be injurious; and am sure a moderate quantity of animal food may be taken with advantage. In both cases, the diet should consist, as much as possible, of one kind of aliment.

The presence or absence of this inflammatory diathesis, furnishes the indications for administering or restraining from the use of bark and balsamic medicines. With all the testimonies of their having done mischief, many of which I could produce, I have known several cases in which they have been given with obvious advantage; but it was only when there was a total absence of inflammatory diathesis.

Perhaps the remedies I have recommended, and the opinions I have delivered, may derive some support from attending to the analogy of ulcers on the legs, and in other parts of the body. The first of these occur chiefly in habits debilitated by spiritous liquors; and the last frequently in habits debilitated by the scrophula. In curing these disorders, it is in vain to depend upon internal or external medicines. The whole system must be strengthened, or we do nothing; and this is to be effected only by exercise and a generous diet.

In relating the facts that are contained in this essay, I wish I could have avoided reasoning upon them; especially as I am confident of the certainty of the facts, and somewhat doubtful of the truth of my reasonings.

I shall only add, that if the cure of consumptions should at last be effected by remedies in every respect the opposites of those palliatives which are now fashionable and universal, no more will happen than what we have already seen in the tetanus, the small-pox, and in the management of fractured limbs.

Should this be the case, we shall not be surprised to hear of physicians, instead of prescribing any one, or all of the medicines formerly enumerated for consumptions, ordering their pati-

ents to exchange the amusements or indolence of a city, for the toils of a country life; of their advising farmers to exchange their plentiful tables, and comfortable fire-sides, for the scanty but solid subsistence, and midnight exposure of the herdsmen; or of their recommending, not so much the exercise of a pallive sea-voyage, as the active labours and dangers of a common sailor. Nor should it surprise us, after what we have seen, to hear patients relate the pleasant adventures of their excursions, or labours, in quest of their recovery from this disorder, any more than it does now to see a strong or well shaped limb that has been broken; or to hear a man talk of his studies, or pleasures, during the time of his being inoculated for the small-pox.

From a review of the facts and observations which have been mentioned, I cannot help thinking that the words of the philosopher, "*quod potius in te est*," apply not more to the means of obtaining happiness, than they do to the means of obtaining a radical cure for the consumption.

I will not venture to assert, that there does not exist a medicine, which shall supply, at least in some degree, the place of the labour or exercise, whose usefulness in consumptions has been established by the facts that have been mentioned. Many instances of the analogous effects of medicines, and of exercise upon the human body, forbid the supposition. I shall only add, that if there does exist in nature such a medicine, I am disposed to believe it will be found in the class of tonics. If this should be the case, I conceive its strength, or its dose, must far exceed the present state of our knowledge or practice with respect to the efficacy or dose of tonic medicines.

I except the disorder, which arises from recent abscesses in the lungs, from the general observation which has been made, respecting the inefficacy of the remedies that were formerly enumerated for the cure of consumptions without labour or exercise. These abscesses often occur without being accompanied by a consumptive diathesis, and are frequently cured by nature, or by very simple medicines.

The impartial chronicle, or the infallible intelligencer; upon the plan, and after the manner of the New-York Mercury. By his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of the state of New Jersey. Published in Philadelphia, February 18, 1777.—P. 298

London, October 13, 1776.

LAST Thursday arrived in town with a very splendid and pompous retinue, and yesterday morning had an audience with his majesty, his excellency Muli Mahomet, envoy extraordinary from the Ottoman court. After the ceremonies were over, he produced to his majesty the strongest assurances from the grand seignior, that he wished his majesty a complete victory over his revolted subjects; and after this life, the immortal joys of Paradise. He then represented, that his sublime and invincible master, the top of whose throne reaches to the heavens, would have offered his majesty an army of Mussulmen to scatter the rebels as the dust of the earth; but that the empire of the faithful having lately been considerably drained in the war with Russia, the sublime porte had devised another expedient to assist his majesty in triumphing over his clamorous slaves, and to compel them to lick up the dust at the footstool of his imperial throne. To repair the waste of his majesty's British subjects in this horrible rebellion, to which the common mode of procreation usually practised in England was by no means adequate, his august and victorious sovereign, at the lifting of whose sabre the whole world trembles, had commissioned him to offer his majesty to present each member of the two houses of parliament, with five Circassian virgins of the most exquisite beauty, and his majesty himself with a score of the like amiable blooming breeders. It is generally believed that this delicious present, so far as it respects the lords and commons, will be gratefully accepted; but as to the latter part, it is whispered about that our most gracious queen cannot be fully convinced of the necessity of the measure.

List of the forces with which his majesty intends to open the next year's campaign in America.

British troops now in America	7000
Hessians	12000
Brunswickers	2000
Of Hainault	1500
Waldeckers	3000
Axe-men	7000
Negroes	8000
Tories	6470
Light horse	1500
<i>To be reinforced by foreign auxiliaries.</i>	
Laplanders	4000
Persian archers	3500
Japanese	12000
Moors	13000
Ekimaux	4700
Hussars	2000
Pandours	2000
Croats	1500

Total 91670

With this terrific and tremendous armament, in conjunction with a most tremendous and irresistible fleet, his majesty is resolved to terminate this unnatural war the next summer, as it will be impossible for the rebels to bring an equal number into the field. His majesty has also the strongest assurances, that France will co-operate with him in humbling his seditious subjects; and as his admiral and general are still extending the arms of mercy for the gracious reception of those who will yet return to their duty and allegiance; for heaven's sake, ye poor deluded, misguided, bewildered, cajoled and bamboozled whigs! ye dumfounded, insatuated, backbitten, stridden, nose-led-about, priest-ridden, demagogue-beshackled, and congress-becrafsted independents, fly, fly, oh fly for protection to the royal standard, or ye will be swept from the face of the earth with the besom of destruction, and cannonaded in a moment, into nullities and non-entities, and no mortal can tell into what other kind of quiddities and quoddities.

From the London Gazette, Oct. 10.

RANAWAY from St. James's, an old servant, called common-sense and honesty, formerly belonging to his late majesty George II. and by him imported from Hanover. He served the old king faithfully, and was of great service in procuring him the esteem and affection of all his subjects. But being constantly made a laughing stock by the lords Bute and Mansfield since his majesty's de-

mise, he took the resolution, suddenly to absent himself from court. His present owner, it is said, is very indifferent whether he ever returns or not, having by the arts and misrepresentations of those noblemen, and others, taken a prejudice against him; but some of the people who knew the old king, and the regard he had for this useful servant, have authorised the printer to promise five thousand pounds reward, to any person who shall bring him back to the palace, and prevail upon him to continue only one month longer in his majesty's service.

New York, Feb. 12, 1777.

His majesty, ever studious of rewarding exemplary merit, and particularly of signalizing martial prowess with the most distinguishing marks of his royal approbation, has sent over the feather of a peacock's tail of singular length and lustre: which was last week affixed to the cap of one of the conquerors of America (an illustrious proof of his majesty's deep sense of that hero's unparallelled exploits against the rebels) with all the ceremony and splendor suitable to the pomposity of the occasion.

We hear from every part of the country, that the remarkable warm weather we have had during the present winter, the like of which was never known before, has caused the wool of all the American sheep to turn into hair as is usual with that animal in warm climates. A manifest judgment of providence to compel the rebels to return to their dependence upon Great Britain, or perish for the want of clothing!

It is generally supposed that if any thing besides the want of woollens, will oblige the Americans to sue for reconciliation with the mother country, it will be the interposition of the ladies, who have been so lavish in the monstrous size and longitude of their head-dress, that the materials of which their caps are composed (which are all British) will soon be expended; and then bare heads or peace upon any terms.

Proclamation.

WHEREAS by our declarations of the 14th of July and the 19th of September last, in pursuance of his

majesty's most gracious intentions, neither to rob, plunder, or destroy any person or persons whatsoever who should voluntarily, and of their own free will and accord, surrender their estates and effects into our hands, and their persons to eternal bondage, all such persons were promised a free and general pardon: and whereas, notwithstanding the said declaration, and the laudable example of many who were by that means induced to betray their native country, and have in consequence thereof already reaped the unspeakable benefit of living in New York upon salt provisions, or being despised at home by all the rest of their countrymen; several bodies of men are nevertheless determined to vindicate their natural and true rights, by open arms, in manifest contravention of his majesty's most gracious purpose of reducing America to slavery, in the most peaceable and unexceptionable manner. Now, in order to the more effectual accomplishment of his majesty's said gracious intentions, and that his mild and unlimited dominion may be established without the further effusion of blood, or expenditure of English treasure; and duly considering the expediency of limiting the time in which such pardon as aforesaid shall be granted (least his majesty's troops should in the mean while be diminished by death and desertion, and the nation become bankrupt by an enormous protracted expense) and of specifying the terms upon which only the same may be obtained—We do, in his majesty's name, and by virtue of the power committed to us as plenipotentiaries for abolishing the constitutional rights of America, and augmenting and accumulating all grievances hereunto complained of, hereby charge in command all persons whatsoever, who have taken up arms against the said most honourable of all forms of government, arbitrary and despotic power, forthwith to abandon the country, to be pillaged by British forces and foreign mercenaries, to be peaceable and quiet spectators of whatever desolation and slaughter we shall think proper to perpetrate. And we do also charge and command all persons who have been chosen by the people in the extremity of their dis-

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trek (and after his majesty was most graciously pleased to reject their supplications and addresses) for the traitorous purpose of counselling them in their tribulation, and finally directing their operations for opposing the necessary hostilities of Great Britain, to desert from all such nefarious actions and doings, so that we may obtain the peaceable possession of the continent, without any more fighting or bloodshed; that the inhabitants may be delivered from the trouble of taking care of their own property—that a remission of the abominable sin of patriotism may restore to the guilty, peace and tranquility of conscience, and every person reap the benefit of laying out the one-half of his future earnings in the toyshops of London, and hold the residue during the will and pleasure of the crown and parliament. And we do hereby declare and make known to all men, that every person who, within sixty days of the date hereof, shall appear before proper authority, and shall claim the benefit of this pardon, and at the same time subscribe a declaration in the words following:

"I, A. B. do promise and declare, that I will remain quiet and stand motionless and unaffected as a statue while the Hessians destroy my property, and murder my sons in cold blood; and while the British officers ravish my wife and daughters before my face, and both co-operate by fire and sword in desolating my native country, and reducing millions of my fellow-citizens to ignominious and everlasting vassalage," shall and may obtain a free and full pardon of all the treasons which he *never* committed, and a remission of the forfeiture of *all* his estate after he has *never* left.

Given at New-York, the 30th day of November, 1776.

QUOMODO.

W. QUOMODO.

We hear from Connecticut, that a pint of fish has been sold for three pounds lawful money, but it must be observed, that the consideration was paid in continental currency—An irrefragable proof, as well of the immense scarcity of fish, as of the incredible depreciation of the dirty trash that was bartered away for it.

VOL. V.

Three of his majesty's flat-bottomed boats, carrying two swivels apiece, and manned with ten hands, desecrating four of the American navy of sixteen guns each, near Block Island, immediately gave chase to the enemy; but the wind being fair, the rebel fleet out sailed the pursuers; when, suddenly turning right a head, and the royal boats having the advantage upon the wind, they soon overtook the rebels, and, after a smart engagement for three glasses, blew up one, sunk another, and after killing the captain, lieutenant, and nine-tenths of the crew of the other two, boarded them, and have brought them safe into this port.

It is now fully ascertained, that when the congress first heard of the British troops taking possession of Brunswick, they were thrown into such consternation in the receptacle of high treason and rebellion, where they were then assembled, that John Hancock darted headforemost through the door before it could be opened, carrying with him above half a pannel; and Samuel Adams got out through the top of the chimney, and leapt down from the roof of the State-house; and the whole band of conspirators, without waiting for horses or carriages, ran off a foot to Baltimore, and there immediately embarked on board of a pilot boat, and have never been heard of since, though it is generally supposed they have sailed for France.

Wednesday last five of the light horse met forty three of the Jersey militia between Brunswick and Millstone, with two brass field-pieces, when an engagement ensued, in which the light horse, without so much as receiving a wound, killed every one of the rebels upon the spot, and brought off the field-pieces to head quarters.

Lately invented, a curious hydrostatic instrument, which will make any pistole, guinea, or half-pie, weigh a twentieth part more, by clipping off a sixtieth part; by major general R.

Printed by H— G—, and given gratis, *The Mirror of Mercy; or, The Primrose of Favour and Clemency*; shewing how every loyal American may preserve the soil and free possession of his whole estate real and personal, by suffering the British

Z.

parliament to deprive him of nine-tenths of it; edited by his most gracious majesty's most gracious plenipotentiaries. Certainly, nothing can more fully demonstrate the insatiation of the rebels, and their woful seduction by a few artful and ambitious demagogues, than their not being universally convinced of their true interest by the unanswerable reasons contained in this precious, and inestimable publication; though to the honour of the wise and loyal, it must be acknowledged that thousands, being perfectly cured of their obduracy, by this mollifying cordial, daily flock to the royal standard, and pretend no other impediment against fighting for their sovereign, than their natural and incurable cowardice.

Compounded and to be sold by dr. M'K—, a medical preparation, that will enable an American prisoner to subsist comfortably, and grow fat, upon two and a half pounds of beef, and three pounds of bread per week.

The commander in chief having found from repeated experiment, that notwithstanding the known bravery of the British light horse, the immense woods and numerous defiles in this desert country, render it impracticable to prevent the ambuscades of the enemy, which have lately made our cavalry less formidable to the rebels than was expected, his excellency has made application to his majesty for two thousand Hussars, the same number of Pandours, and one thousand five hundred Croats; who are instantly to rush upon the enemy without knowing where they be, and cut them down with their sabres without seeing them.

We can now inform our readers with undoubted certainty, that after the defeat of the rebels at Princeton, mr. Washington rendezvoused the remains of his routed forces at Millstone, and parading them over the mouth of a subterraneous cavern, to which the loyalists in that neighbourhood had properly directed him, the surface suddenly gave way, and his whole army sinking into the bottom of the cavern, the earth closed over them as it did over Dathan, Korah and Abiram. A notable instance of the divine vengeance against such causeless treason and rebellion!

Advertisement.

AS his majesty's troops now in this city intend to reserve to themselves the pleasure of setting it on fire whenever mr. Washington shall compel them to evacuate it: the native inhabitants are strictly prohibited to make any premature conflagration of this metropolis; and the more effectually to prevent their depriving the army of that honour, all the citizens are strictly charged and commanded to go to bed in the dark, and to cook their victuals without fuel, or they may expect the same punishment that was inflicted on a former occasion (when the town took fire by accident) of being thrown alive into the flames.

R. City governor and absolute proprietary of New York.

Printed and sold by Hugo Lucie, under the inspection and by permission of martial authority, in New York, in Gasconading square, opposite to Rhodomontado alley, at the sign of the crown against the bible, where all persons may be supplied with false intelligence for hard money, and with truth upon no terms whatever.



The following queries on the present state of husbandry and agriculture in the united states of America, were proposed to the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, by the abbé Teflier, of the academy of sciences, and of the royal medical society of Paris, through the hands of monsieur de Marbois, vice-consul of France. The only answers to them which the society has yet been favoured with, are those subjoined, for which they are indebted to James Tilton, M. D. of the state of Delaware.

The comprehensive and satisfactory manner in which this paper is written, has encouraged the society to publish it, with the queries, in hopes that qualified persons will be found in every state who will undertake the task, and furnish them with similar answers; by which it is conceived that not only the wishes of our agricultural friends in France will be gratified, but the state of agriculture amongst ourselves may be greatly improved.

Papers on this subject, addressed to Dr. Samuel Powel Griffiths, Philadelphia, the secretary to the society, will be safely received and duly attended to.

Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1789.

QUERIES

On the present state of husbandry and agriculture in the state of Delaware.

QUESTION 1.

WHAT is the latitude of the country, the length of the winter, the mean and extreme degrees of cold and heat; and, in general, what is its temperature?

A. 1. The Delaware state lies between $38^{\circ} 30'$ and $39^{\circ} 47'$ north latitude, is about forty miles wide on the sea coast, and extending from Cape Henlopen up the bay of Delaware, about one hundred miles in length, terminates in a twelve mile circle, eight miles above Wilmington—the mean distance across, about twenty-four miles. The length of the winter is about three months; the rivers generally freeze up before Christmas, and the trees begin to bud and blossom before April. The mercury has been known to descend below 0; but in ordinary, the extreme degrees of cold and heat are, about 5 in winter, and 66 in summer, by Fahrenheit's scale. The general temperature of the air is moderate, though liable to frequent and sudden changes.

Q. 2. What is the nature of the soil? Is the mould or vegetable earth very deep? Upon what kind of stratum does it lie? Is it upon clay, or what other earth? What is nearly the thickness of each layer?

A. 2. The nature of the soil is very fertile. The mould or vegetable earth may every where be made deep. There are few stones, except on the hills of Brandewine, in the upper extremity of the state. In the upper county of Newcastle, the soil consists of a strong clay; in the middle county of Kent, of a sandy loam; and in the lower county of Sussex, of a loamy sand. In digging deep into the earth, it is common to pass through various strata of different thicknesses, such as clay, sand, gravel, fuller's earth, mud, shells, &c.

Q. 3. Do the cultivated grounds produce a crop every year without rest, or every two years successively, or

every second year only; or is the same ground cultivated many years before it is permitted to rest?

A. 3. There are various methods of cultivation, and no settled standard; but the same ground is cultivated many years before it is permitted to rest.

Q. 4. Is manure much in use, and of what kind, new or rotten, cattle or fowls dung? Are horned cattle or sheep folded on the ground? When dung is employed, what quantity is used upon an acre, or any square of a determined measure? How long are cattle folded on the same place? How many head of cattle are folded in a place of a determined extent, and at what season is the ground manured?

A. 4. Hitherto we have depended chiefly on the freshness and richness of our soil; but manure is now more necessary and more used than formerly. All good farmers fold their horned cattle and sheep. The quantity of manure is varied according to the judgment of the farmer, and the use to which he intends to put the ground. From fifty to one hundred cattle may be folded on half an acre of ground, and it is customary to move their pens every ten days. Cattle are folded during the summer and autumn; stable manure and litter are carted out early in the spring.

Q. 5. Is marle in use? of what colour is it, or is it of two different colours? Which is the predominant one? In what quantity is it employed and what is the benefit of it? How long will it last? Is not the earth or mud dug out of rivers or rivulets, or even sand, according to the nature of the soil, or rotten sea-plants, or salts produced by the burning of those plants, or any other substances, preferable to marle?

A. 5. Marle is not at all in use, nor sea-plants; but ashes, made by culinary uses, are discovered by some few experiments to be a most advantageous manure. A less quantity serves than of any other, and is most conveniently distributed in hills, or dropped in small parcels, for any purpose whatsoever. Two table-spoonfuls sprinkled on a hill of Indian corn, after it has sprouted above the earth, will be sufficient.

Q. 6. How many square fathoms

or feet are contained in an acre of land measure? What are the subdivisions of that measure?

A. 6. There are forty-three thousand five hundred and sixty square feet in an acre. The subdivisions are half acres, perches, and feet.

Q. 7. What plants are generally cultivated, first, for man's food, second, for cattle and fowls; third, for the arts? How long has the cultivation of those plants been introduced, and how far does that culture extend itself in the neighbourhood?

A. 7. For man's use are cultivated wheat, barley, Indian corn and buckwheat, besides potatoes, cabbage, various kinds of pulse and other garden truck. These all furnish provender for cattle; besides which, oats, and various kinds of grass, more especially timothy and clover, are cultivated for the use of cattle.

Q. 8. In what order are the different kinds of grain sown? For instance, does wheat precede barley or oats, or does buckwheat or hemp, &c. follow rye?

A. 8. It is most common to sow wheat and rye in fields that have been cleaned of weeds, by the previous culture of Indian corn. Many sow among the corn before it is gathered; but the more approved practice is to fallow up the ground the year following. It is found, that wheat will grow very well after barley; and our oats and flax are generally sowed in the spring, on a piece of ground which we mean to fallow for wheat in the fall. We raise little or no hemp in Delaware, although the soil is very capable of it; and buckwheat is only cultivated as a rarity, by a few farmers, and then it is sowed in a bye patch, or in some part of the corn field.

Q. 9. Are there different kinds of rye, wheat, barley, oats, flax, and what are their distinguishing marks? To which of these grains is the preference given, and which is the most productive?

A. 9. There are varieties in wheat, barley, oats, and flax, but I am not acquainted with any in our rye. The different kinds of wheat are distinguished various ways; sometimes by the chaff, according to the colour, either red or white; sometimes by the ear,

as it is either bearded or otherwise; and in selling, by the grain; the miller prefers the white grain to the red, and all smooth wheat to the bearded. Many farmers, however, cultivate the bearded wheat, from an opinion that it is the hardiest, and will stand the winter best, especially in low grounds. Spring and fall barley are distinctions that explain themselves. The only variety in our flax is that of long line, supposed to grow higher than any other.

Q. 10. What seed is generally used for sowing; is it of the growth of the country or procured from abroad? If the last, from whence is it procured, in how many years is it necessary to renew it?

A. 10. All seed, used for sowing, is of the growth of the country. The farmers sometimes exchange, with design to get clean seed or of another kind; but have no occasion to send out of the state, to renew their seed.

Q. 11. If, for instance, the culture is begun by wheat, how often is the ground ploughed? or, if it is cultivated by hand, what tools are made use of; the spade, the mattock, the pitchfork, or the hoe, or any other? how deep, and at what seasons is the ground tilled?

A. 11. In a field cleaned of grass, by the culture of Indian corn, the preceding year, the prevailing practice is to plough it once after harvest, and then harrow in the seed: but if the culture of wheat is begun upon a grassy ford, the field must be bushed in the winter, or early in the spring, and the ground ploughed again in the summer, before the grain is harrowed or ploughed in. The plough is the only instrument used for breaking up our farm lands. The spade is only used in gardens, and the mattock occasionally about stumps, where the plough does not succeed. Our wheat fields are generally tilled from four to six inches deep, and it is a growing opinion, that the deeper the better.

Q. 12. Are the furrows flat or high? or in other words, what sort of ploughs and harrows are made use of? are the furrows made by a single ploughing, or does the plough pass repeatedly along the same furrow? what is their height?

A. 12. The small single plough is

the only kind in use among us; this, however, admits of some modification, according as the soil is stiffer or lighter. In a grassy field, the sod is turned over flat: but in a fallow, previously prepared by the culture of Indian corn, it is easy to make the broken ground stand up on edge, which is esteemed the best fallow. Rake and flake harrows are used for different purposes; the former for pulverising and levelling the fallow fields, and harrowing in the seed: the latter for weeding between the rows of corn.

Q. 13. What is the season for sowing wheat or any other grain? is any preparation used to the seed previous to its being sown? if so, what is the preparation, why is it used, and what are its effects?

A. 13. The best season for sowing wheat, barley, and rye, is during the month of September: oats and flax should be sowed the latter end of March, and beginning of April: Indian corn is planted from the beginning to the end of May. We have hitherto used no preparation of the seed, previous to sowing.

Q. 14. Are the seeds covered by the plough, the harrow, or the rake; or how?

A. 14. Wheat, barley, oats, and rye, may be covered with the plough or harrow indifferently: ploughing is esteemed best: harrowing the most expeditious and convenient method, consequently most practised. Flax is always harrowed in, and Indian corn planted with the hoe.

Q. 15. How much wheat, barley, hemp-seed, rape-seed, &c. is generally sown upon an acre? is it sown by hand, or with any machine? when the seeds are small, as rape-seed, is it usual to mix them with sand or ashes to facilitate the sowing?

A. 15. From half a bushel to a bushel of wheat, and from a bushel to a bushel and a half of barley is sowed to the acre. From six to ten pounds of clover seed, and about two pounds of timothy seed are required to the acre. All these are usually sowed broad cast; and it is usual to mix ashes or fine dust with the small seeds to facilitate the sowing.

Q. 16. From the time the seed is put into the ground, till it is ripe, does it require any more care? is it

necessary to roll it, to hoe, or to weed it; and how is that operation performed, and with what instruments?

A. 16. Our winter crops of wheat, barley, &c. also the oats, flax, and buckwheat, are so disposed of as to require no further care after the seeds are put into the ground. But Indian corn requires a laborious and constant tillage from the time of planting until the crop is nearly made. The instruments employed, are ploughs, harrows, and hoes.

Q. 17. To what height do wheat, rye, Indian corn, tobacco, &c. &c. grow?

A. 17. Wheat and rye grow from three to six feet, barley and oats from two to four feet, and Indian corn from seven to fourteen feet high. Tobacco, when permitted to seed, will grow to the height of six feet; but, when topped and cultivated for use, rarely exceeds three feet.

Q. 18. At what seasons do those plants blossom and ripen? what precautions are necessary in gathering, carrying home, drying, securing and preserving them?

A. 18. Barley, rye, wheat, oats, and flax, all blossom and ripen, in the order here mentioned, during the month of June; and are gathered in, from the middle of June to the middle of July. As they are cut or pulled in the field, they are bound up in sheaves, and put into small shocks of about twelve sheaves each: after drying in this manner some days, they are carted together and stacked out of doors. Flax and oats require houling more than the rest.

Q. 19. What circumstances are most favourable to the productions of the country? what are the most hurtful, either from the air, the rivers, animals, or destructive insects? what are the means used to guard against these inconveniencies?

A. 19. Our winter crops are most favoured by uniform cold weather, and snow sufficient to cover the ground. The summer crops are most favoured by a uniformity of warm weather, with frequent showers, rather than large glutts of rain. Frequent alternate thawing and freezing in winter, which our climate is too liable to, spews out the growing crop in such a manner, as in the spring to leave it but thin-

ly set upon the ground. I have known a cool spell of weather in August to flint the crops of corn very much. But droughts most frequently injure our summer crops. Worms sometimes do injury; but a destructive insect called the *fly*, has of late years done us more damage in our crops, than all other contingencies whatsoever. An ingenious friend of mine has made experiments, which prove satisfactorily, that no grain of wheat is ever injured by the fly, but such as have the embryo of the insect deposited in it while young and tender, in like manner as the insect is deposited in the garden pea. And upon this principle it is that our most effectual precautions are taken against these destructive creatures. Some thresh out their grain immediately after harvest, and sell or manufacture it before the insects have time to make any advance in their growth. Others thresh out their whole crop, and let the grain and chaff lie in bulk together, by which means the air is effectually excluded, and the insect smothered. And those who have incautiously cleaned their wheat, when infected with the fly, find by experience, it is best to let it lie in bulk undisturbed, whereby the surface soon becomes mouldered into a mealy, clammy incrustation, by which the air is excluded, and all within is preserved unhurt. The idea of kilns has occurred to some, but has not been practised for this purpose. The hard winter of 1779—80 so effectually destroyed these insects, that I have heard but little complaint of them since.

Q. 20. Are there any plants that are noxious to the useful ones and to the seed in the ground? what are their common as well as botanical names? how are they destroyed or prevented from having any effect?

A. 20. We have cockle and cheat that may be avoided by good farming; but the most noxious and injurious plant is wild garlic or allium. When this gets possession of ground, no effectual method has hitherto been discovered for rooting it out: it feeds about the same time with the wheat, and it is with great difficulty separated from the clean grain: manufactured with the wheat, it gives the flour a disagreeable taste of garlic, and injures

the sale of such wheat and other grain as abounds with it. This plant is most injurious in poor land; and the best guard to be taken against it, is to force the land with manure, by which means the grain rises thick and high above it, and stifling the garlic, prevents it from seeding. It is also found by experience, that sowing oats in the spring, or fallowing the ground without sowing it, has a like tendency to prevent the garlic from seeding.

Q. 21. Are the different kinds of grain subject to any diseases? how are these diseases indicated, and what means are used to preserve the grain from them?

A. 21. Our winter grains are frequently liable to a disease called the rust, occasioned by thick fog a little before harvest. It is not even fog that rusts the grain; but they are sometimes endowed with so corrosive a quality as, in a few hours time, to strike all our wheat with the rust. In this disease the exterior cuticle of the straw is corroded or destroyed in such a manner as to let the juices or nourishment destined for the ear, weep out and dry upon the straw, in form of rust; by which means the grain is impoverished and diminished, and the wheat is injured in its quality, its weight and sale.

Another disease to which our grains are liable, is called the scab. Wheat is more especially apt to be scabbed. In this kind of blast, although the ears look fair and the calices or chaff are very complete, yet the grain will be wanting, sometimes in one half but more frequently in spots on different parts of the ear. According to the sexual system of Linnæus, the flowers of vegetables have male and female parts, and the farina, or pollen of the male, analogous to the semen of animals, is necessary to the impregnation of the female, for the production of fruit. Hard and continued rains happening at the time when the wheat is in blossom, wash off and destroy the pollen of the male, in such a manner as to deprive the females of its fructifying influence. The consequence is, that in every flower thus injured, although the calix and chaff may grow complete, there will be no vestige of grain, at the ripening of the ear. As June is not our rainy

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season, the long continued rains necessary to produce this disorder in our wheat, happen by a rare contingency only; the rust much more frequently. As to the black blatt, by which the ears of wheat and other grain are mouldered into a black smut—we have solitary examples of it in all our fields, but never to be regarded as of any consequence.

Q. 22. What is the common length of the ears of wheat, rye, barley, &c. the thickness of the stalk at the foot, and how many grains in one ear?

A. 22. The common length of the ears of wheat and barley is from three to five inches; of rye, from four to six inches; the thickness of the stalks at the foot, is from one-fourth to one-eighth of an inch: from thirty to eighty grains may be contained in an ear. The ears of the barley and rye, however, generally contain more grains than those of wheat.

Q. 23. Are artificial meadows in use? [if so] with what plants are they cropped? at what season and how often do they mow them?

A. 23. Artificial meadows abound in the two upper counties. They are cropped chiefly with timothy grass and red clover. The clover is cut the first time early in June, and twice or three times afterwards. Spear grass of every kind is cut but once, and that soon after harvest.

Q. 24. Where are the crops put; is it in barns or under sheds, or do they stack them without doors? How are those stacks made and secured against the injuries of the weather? Can grain and hay be well preserved in stacks? Is the grain threshed on the field, or in the barns? Is it threshed immediately after harvest, or in the course of the year?

A. 24. Our crops of hay are all stacked out of doors except clover, which requires housing. These stacks are commonly made round or square, and carried up in a bulbous form to a point at top. Sometimes, however, long ricks are made by those who have large crops. Grain is preserved in the same manner; oats, however, are more apt to spoil in stacks, and therefore more commonly housed than other grain.

Q. 25. How is the grain threshed; is it with a flail or with sticks,

or on a barrel, or by the trampling of animals? how is the flail or any other instrument for threshing made? What are the reasons for threshing immediately after harvest, or deferring that operation till a later period?

A. 25. Wheat, our principal crop, is generally trod out with horses, immediately after harvest. We tread out barley also, but not generally so soon, as wheat. Our smaller crops, such as rye, oats, buckwheat, &c. are generally threshed out, when not used for cattle in the straw. The flail is the only instrument used for threshing. This is made of two smooth tough pieces of wood, the shortest called the swingle, the longest, the handle of the flail, which are connected together by a swivel made of iron, wood, or the hides of animals: the two latter are esteemed the best, as it is not convenient, in striking with the flail, to have the weight preponderate at the swivel. The occasions of our farmers induce most of them to tread out their wheat and barley, presently after harvest; the millers also encourage the sale at this time, and sometimes the fly renders this measure indispensable. Wealthy men, however, often keep their grain in stack or in the granary, for the best market.

Q. 26. What is the common produce of a certain extent of ground in green or dry forage, in corn, grain, feeds, or any other production? What is the proportion of increase?

A. 26. An acre of ground will produce of timothy from one to two tons of dry forage—of red clover from two to three tons—of Indian corn, from fifteen to fifty bushels—of wheat from six to twenty bushels—of barley and rye, from ten to thirty-five bushels—of oats and buckwheat, from fifteen to thirty bushels—of Irish potatoes, from one hundred to three hundred bushels.

Q. 27. How many horses or oxen are used to a plough? How tall are those animals? How much ground do they till in one day, when the days are of a moderate length; and allowing the field to be ploughed at the distance of two miles from the farm house?

A. 27. Two or three horses are used to a plough, and four or six oxen.

Oxen are from twelve to fourteen hands high generally; we have but few cattle of the large breed. Our horses are from thirteen to sixteen hands high. A hand, or hand's breadth, is estimated at four inches. A single plough will turn from an acre to two acres of fallow in a day; but we have no such thing as a field two miles distant from the farm house.

Q. 28. Allowing the fields to be at the distance of two miles from the farm-house, how much ground can two oxen or horses harrow or roll in one day? How many cart loads of dung can they carry to the field, and what number of sheaves can they bring home?

Q. 29. What quantity of ground can a man sow or till in one day with the spade, the mattock, or the hoe? How much wheat is he able to cut with a sickle; and how much of any other plants can he mow?

A. 29. We only till our gardens with the spade; and hoe our corn only after the plough and harrow. A man can cut an acre of wheat with a sickle in a day; cradle four times as much oats or barley; and mow an acre of green grass with a naked scythe.

Q. 30. Are the farm rents paid in specie or in produce? Are the lands let out in halves? Do the cattle belong to the landlord or to the farmer, or is their increase divided between them?

A. 30. The farm rents used to be paid in money altogether. Since the revolution, the depreciation and fluctuation of our money has given occasion to our rents being often paid in produce, and the letting of lands sometimes, though rarely, on shares. The flock of cattle generally belongs to the tenant, and when rented of the landlord, it is for a pecuniary consideration, the increase being never divided.

Q. 31. What are the corn measures, their sub-divisions, and their names and the weight of each?

A. 31. For measuring Indian corn in the ear, we have a measure called a barrel, containing five bushels. By this it is customary to estimate the whole amount of the crop of corn, and to divide the shares between the landlord and his tenant or cropper.

For measuring shelled corn or grain of every kind, our measure is the bushel, the subdivisions of which are the half bushel and peck. The weight of a bushel of wheat is sixty pounds, varying a few pounds, over or under, according to the goodness of the wheat.

Q. 32. Are the seeds and plants gathered in Delaware of a good quality? Wherein do they differ from those of the neighbouring states? are they of a higher price and better sale?

A. 32. The wheat of the peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake, possesses a soft fine quality, favourable to the manufacture of superfine flour. It is said, the hard flinty wheat from the high lands of Pennsylvania and New-York, can hardly be manufactured into superfine, without a mixture of our wheat. This circumstance sometimes enhances its price.

Q. 33. Is any preparation made use of for grain, seed, or plants, after they are gathered, to fit them for the use of men or cattle, or to be employed in the arts?

A. 33. Grain and seeds are always ground or boiled for the use of men, and sometimes for the use of cattle also. Straw is sometimes cut fine for cattle; hay and other fodder require no preparation after they are gathered in.

Q. 34. Does the grain, when ground, yield much meal? and what quantity for a determined measure? Is the old or the economical mode of grinding in use?

A. 34. Three bushels of wheat yield a hundred weight of fine flour, besides ship stuff, shorts and bran. In Delaware, the manufacture of flour is supposed to be in the utmost perfection, and is much more than the produce of the state. Besides an abundance of mill seats improved all over the state, there are in one view on the Brandewine, ten mills, with not less than twenty pair of stones, capable of grinding two thousand bushels a day. These mills are generally constructed in such a manner, that one set of gears serves two pair of stones, not for both pair to run at once, but when one pair is up dressing or cooling, the other to run; and thus in active or busy times, the mill grinds perpetually day and night. It is surprising to tell how little manual labour is required.

ed in these mills, the whole business being performed by means of machines, except the oversight of one man to each mill. Wheat and other grains are taken from the shallops or wagons and put into the granaries; from thence the grain is run through screws, and poured into the grinding hopper; after passing the stones, the flour is carried immediately from the trough, aloft to the cooling floor; there it is spread about to cool, and then collected together in the boulding hopper, from whence the flour passes through the boulding cloth, and is separated from the bran, shorts, &c. and all this is performed by machines, that move by the force of the same water that turns the mill. Oliver Evans, an ingenious countryman, has lately invented a fundry of these machines, among which is one for separating effectually the wild garlic from the wheat. As a reward for his ingenuity, he has obtained, by an act of the legislature, an exclusive right and privilege of making and vending the same. It is a prevailing opinion in Delaware, that we have the largest and most perfect manufacture of flour, within a like space of ground, known in the world; and that this observation applies equally to the state at large, as to the particular district on the Brandewine.

Q. 35. Are the flax, hemp, pulse, &c. better than in other countries?

A. 35. Our flax is of a luxuriant growth and superior quality.

Q. 36. In a district of a given extent, how many acres are supposed to be cultivated in wheat, rye, hemp, madder, or coleseed?

A. 36. We have no established mode of farming or order in the arrangement of our crops. The most approved method is to lay out the farm into six fields; to sow one field in wheat, one in barley, and plant one in Indian corn, every year; or two in wheat and one in corn. The smaller crops, such as oats, rye, buckwheat, &c. are generally made in by-patches or some part of the wheat field.

Q. 37. Does the country produce more or less grain than is necessary for its own consumption? If less, whence is the deficiency supplied? If more, how is it disposed of?

A. 37. Delaware produces many

times over more grain than its own consumption. A great deal of our flour, Indian meal and corn is exported from the port of Wilmington to the West Indies, and even to Europe; but much more from Philadelphia: sometimes, though rarely, small trading vessels go from Delaware to New York, New England, and the Southern States.

Q. 38. Are there any manufactures that employ plants, used in arts, which grow in that country?

A. 38. Flax is spun in almost every private family; but there are no manufactures upon the large scale, in which this or any other plants is used. Except flax, I recollect no other plants used in the arts, which are cultivated in this state.

Q. 39. Does the country abound with wood, or is it covered with heath or fern? Which are the most common trees in the woods? Are the forest trees of a fine growth?

A. 39. This state abounds with wood the most lofty and fine. We have no such thing as barren hills or plains. The most common trees are oaks, hickory, poplar, walnut, maple, ash, &c. In the lower and more sandy parts of Sussex county, there are immense cedar swamps of great value. In this district also the pines on the high ground grow very lofty, and are admirably suited, both in size and quality, to saw into plank and scantling.

Q. 40. Are there breeds of cattle, and of what kinds? Are there pastures to feed, and grass to fatten them? Are the cattle stall-fed, and with what food? How do they feed them the whole year round?

A. 40. Some few farmers have the large English breed of cattle; but the most prevailing are of the smaller kind. These are bred in the greatest number on the marshes and forests of the two lower counties; from whence they are driven in large droves to the county of Newcastles, where the most cultivated meadows abound, and they are grazed and stall-fed for the markets of Wilmington and Philadelphia. Fattening cattle, during the warm weather, run at large in grazing grounds, changing them occasionally, from field to field; in the winter, such as are stall-fed are put each

into a separate stall and fed with the most luxuriant hay. There is a prevailing opinion, that beef is firmer and in all respects better, when fattened upon grass than upon grain.

Q. 41. Do they breed horses and mules? We wish the persons to whom these queries may be presented, to give some details relative to the studs, the stallions, the decrease of horses and mules; and the reasons of such decrease.

A. 41. Very few mules have ever been bred in Delaware. We breed horses for the road and other services; but are not so ambitious of race horses, as the people of Virginia and North Carolina. Our laws discourage racing. I am far from thinking that either horses or mules decrease or degenerate in size or otherwise, by breeding them in this country.

Q. 42. We wish them also to be to kind as to give some details relative to the height and weight of the sheep; to the quality, price and weight of their wool, either washed or not; and to the mode of managing and nourishing them the whole year.

A. 42. We have different kinds of sheep, some imported, but chiefly of the small breed, about 23 feet high, and weighing, when dressed by the butcher, about twenty pounds per quarter. The quality of their wool is esteemed good, and sells at two shillings per pound. The weight of a fleece is from three to nine pounds. Sheep are most easily and cheaply provided for of any cattle. The shortest pastures serve them in summer and the refuse fodder in winter. Some cut salt grass from the marshes and stack it upon poles laid horizontally, about four feet from the ground; in winter the sheep go under this shelter and eat the hay from between the poles. This is found to be more salutary for sheep, than housing them in a more confined manner. There is great variety in mutton as an article of food; that raised in Delaware, is of the best quality.

Q. 43. At what age do they sell their sheep or horned cattle, horses, or mules, for whatever use they may be intended? What is the common price of those animals in good condition?

A. 43. Excepting lambs and calves, neither sheep nor horned cattle are

customarily sold, under four years old. They are not sooner mature or fit to be killed. Horses and mules are sold at any age; they are generally broke at three years old, and at four are esteemed fit for any use. The common price of sheep is from a dollar to fifteen shillings—Horses, from fifteen pounds to forty pounds, and other cattle from three pounds to ten pounds.

Q. 44. What is the ordinary food for men the whole year round? How do they prepare it? Are the inhabitants vigorous or weak, active or slow?

A. 44. The inhabitants of Delaware use a great proportion of animal food. Few men breakfast without a portion of meat; and it is an universal practice to dine in the middle of the day, upon a full meal of meat, with bread and vegetables. The meanest slaves have this indulgence. Supper is usually our lightest meal. There is also an excessive use of tea and coffee in this state. Every housekeeper that can afford it, breakfasts upon one or the other; and the genteel people generally indulge in the parade of tea, in the afternoon. Butter is much used, especially at breakfast; cheese but little. Salted pork and bacon are the meats most used in winter and spring; fresh killed mutton, and other cattle, with poultry, fish, &c. in the summer and fall of the year. Salted meats of every kind are boiled. Fresh meats are oftener roasted than boiled. Soups are not much in use. We abound in vegetables of various kinds, adapted as sauces to the various preparations of our meats. The more wealthy inhabitants make their bread of wheat flour; the poorer sort generally of Indian meal. The inhabitants of this state are generally tall, muscular, active and remarkably enterprising. The Delaware regiment was notoriously one of the finest and most efficient in the continental army. Although it may be said that many of the privates were foreigners, the officers, with very few exceptions, and those not the shortest men, were natives born; and I am persuaded there was not a corps of officers belonging to any regiment in our army, that surpassed those of the Delaware regiment, for bodily strength and activity.

From the Federal Gazette.

Remarks on the amendments to the federal constitution, proposed by the conventions of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, New York, Virginia, South and North Carolina, with the minorities of Pennsylvania and Maryland: by the rev. dr. Collin, D. D. and M. A. P. S.—P. 282.

NUMBER VI.

WE proceed to consider the amendments that regard the military power of the federal government. It is pleasing to find that the States of Massachusetts and South-Carolina, are entirely silent on this important subject—they having wisely reflected, that although a friend may possibly point that weapon to my breast, which I gave him to defend me against an assassin, yet it would be absurd either to tie his right arm, or to give him only half a sword; especially when I am well armed myself. The conventions of Virginia, New-York, and North Carolina, request, by the 9th, 7th, and 9th amendment, respectively, “that no standing army or regular troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two thirds of the members present in both houses.” The convention of New Hampshire requires the “consent of three quarters of the members of each branch of congress,” am. 10. The minority of Pennsylvania declare in the 7th part, that “as standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up;” that of Maryland will allow it on the same condition with the three first mentioned conventions, 4th am.

The expression ‘time of peace,’ is very equivocal: does it mean any time previous to a declaration of war? that whatever hostile intentions any powers may betray, or whatever formidable preparations they may carry on by sea and land, congress must not raise a single battalion, until the enemy falls like a thunder-storm on some part of the union? It would be an unpardonable affront to suppose any American of common sense capable of such irrational language; to make him say it is time enough to raise troops, when Philadelphia, New York, or Charleston, is taken—when two or three thousand of the militia, who

made head against a superior force, are cut to pieces—when the enemy has laid the country under contribution, and committed ravages far and near—when my father or brother is killed or taken. I repeat again, it would be the grossest insult to deem any federal citizen capable of such sentiments. The restriction, then, only means that when there is no danger of war, no regular troops shall be kept up. But who shall be a judge of this? what symptoms of danger shall be prescribed? is it expected that any foreign powers will give us notice, that next year, or in six months, they intend to come with fifty thousand men to cut our throats, and waste our country with fire and sword? so much politeness is not yet fashionable. It is rather esteemed very clever to dart upon you like a tyger, when you least expect it; and ten to one but you receive extraordinary caresses, assurances of eternal friendship, &c. &c. just before your property and blood are demanded. If you complain of unfair dealing, they will laugh in your face, and call you a fool for not knowing mankind better. You think I speak of the savages? no; I mean all your good brethren of Adam’s race, including the most polite nations of Europe. As for those blood-hounds of the wilderness, that have scalped and burnt so many families, I hope there is none among us so base and cruel as hereafter to grudge the defenceless women and children a protection from the horrid tomahawk and the lingering fire,

The words army or regular troops being applicable to small numbers, extend the restriction even to the necessary garrisons, and to any military corps which may be wanted on the frontiers.

As America is happily situated so far from Europe, and will, it is to be hoped, be wise enough not to involve herself in the vortex of European politics, she cannot often have occasion for a great body of regular troops, provided the militia is under good regulations; at the same time, as the congress may be under necessity of making considerable preparations of defence some time before an inimical power has taken off the mask, and unsheathed the sword, a restriction, when

or in what degree to arm, would be pernicious. The constitution has already enacted, that no appropriation of money for the raising and supporting of an army, shall be for a longer time than two years, 1st. art. 8th sec. 12, a limitation, in fact, very strict, because, if ever a formidable enemy should invade the united states, he may not be expelled in that time; especially as the federal army must be supported some time before it can begin to act.

On every important affair, the national council ought to be nearly unanimous, because the want of wisdom or virtue is unpardonable; a minority of one fourth itself should not exist. But how far something more than a bare majority may be constitutionally required, is a delicate question. In all cases, when precipitancy is more dangerous than delay, it is prudent to fix a surplus of majority according to circumstances. The present case I apprehend is quite the reverse.—If the country is not in a proper state of defence, it will the sooner invite an enemy, open its bosom to him, and may receive a dangerous wound before the arms can ward off the stroke; but all the disadvantage of collecting an army of perhaps ten or fifteen thousand men without eminent necessity, is to impose some new taxes, which can never be oppressive, as the greatest part of the money is directly laid out in the country. As to any danger to liberty from such an army, it is altogether visionary; and it is needless to repeat what has been so often said on that subject. While the people have property, arms in their hands, and only a spark of a noble spirit, the most corrupt congress must be mad to form any project of tyranny.

This fair statement of the matter might dispense me from answering the question, why should not two-thirds of the congress agree in raising regular troops, if it is really necessary? Why do you surmise that a bare majority of congress would form the wicked, absurd scheme of enslaving the country? Is not this much more improbable? But as the subject will bear a full examination, I shall take it up with a candid freedom. Two-thirds of both houses may not agree in timely measures of defence, for these reasons,

First, the natural indolence of individuals and public bodies is averse from any troublesome enterprise while it possibly can be avoided. The national character of America is also rather too easy than rash, and besides, much influenced by the peaceable spirit of a republic, intent on agriculture and trade. The apparent security of local situation, the plausible reasonings of the minority, and the fear of displeasing a part of the people by a demand of supplies, will co-operate with this indolence in many well-disposed minds. Secondly. As property and pecuniary interest are rather overvalued by too many, perhaps even some delegates in congress may not consider, that gold must be defended by steel; that honour and humanity forbid a true American to expose his country to disgrace, and his fellow-citizens to danger: that a single drop of patriotic blood should not be sold to keep a dollar more in all the pockets through the united states.

Thirdly. A numerous, and in many respects estimable denomination is religiously prejudiced against even defensive war; some of these may be members of congress, or influence in decisions in critical times. Fourthly. If corruption should ever taint any members of the federal council, it will be most dangerous under the venerable form of public spirit. The man, who in flaming colours paints a small American army as the execrable tools of traitorous tyrants, may be the very person who lets loose an host of enemies on the vitals of his native land. A time may come when some hostile power will pay a vote against raising an army with ten thousand pounds. Fifthly. As by the advantage of local situation and domestic resources, some of the states may suffer less from the eventual calamities of war, they may be less affected by the real magnitude of danger. Such a selfish disposition of only one or two may prevent the consent of two-thirds in both houses, and is more probable than treason in more than one half of congress.

NUMBER VII.

THE convention of New York propose, "that the congress shall not declare war without the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators and representatives present in each house."

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This restriction might be applicable to offensive war, but certainly is not to defensive, for the reasons given in the last number. It must also be observed, that a war, in reality just and necessary sometimes may appear offensive. It is just to compel another nation to compliance with an important treaty to the delivery of a frontier place, or to the forbearance of many indirect injuries, which may be in their effects equal to pointed violence. It is also a self-defence to prevent an enemy, when he manifestly intends to attack us, as we snatch a pistol from a robber before he can fire it. Without a detail of circumstances very prolix, and yet incompetent to every emergency, the supreme power cannot be limited on this matter; and must therefore be left to its own wisdom, public virtue, and humanity.

The convention of North Carolina think proper to move a question, which we hope may never be wanted: they request "That the congress shall not declare any state to be in rebellion, without the consent of at least two-thirds of all the members present of both houses," 12 am. The constitution does not explicitly treat of such a case; but is content with defining in 3d sect. of 3d art. that "treason against the united states shall consist only in levying war against them, or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort;" and stipulating in 4th sect. of 4th art. "that the united states shall protect each state in the union against domestic violence, on application of the legislature, or of the executive council, when the legislature cannot be convened." In this, as in other things, the new government will, by a direct operation on individuals, preserve national safety, and prevent dreadful calamities. If the states were only connected by a simple reciprocal contract, the violation of it by any state could not otherwise be remedied than by the united force of all the rest. Here is then an appeal to arms, and a civil war in the first instance! It was thus the anarchy of the old constitution became so alarming, that a dissolution of the union, or a union by force, was the dreadful alternative. But in the new confederacy, the necessity of declaring any state to be in rebellion, can

hardly ever exist, because traitors are disarmed before they can raise any dangerous insurrections; and if such should happen in any state, they will be quelled by federal arms, on the request of the legislature or executive of that state.

While the federal government is just and mild, yet firm and vigilant, it is hardly possible that disaffection should be so general and violent in any state, as to fill both the legislative and executive departments with traitors. But suppose this extraordinary event to happen, from some rapid epidemic phrenzy, the minority will then be considered as true members of the union, and the majority as a faction that must be suppressed, and the leaders of which have incurred the punishment of treason. Even in this case, there is no necessity of declaring the state to be in rebellion. During the tumult, some general regulations must be made, by which the people at large must necessarily suffer; but no punishment can be inflicted upon the state, without depriving it of those rights and benefits which are common to all the states of the union, and consequently changing the federal constitution itself. Yet without such declaration, a speedy and powerful remedy must be applied in the alarming crisis, when a strong faction has seized upon the government and resources of a state, to levy war against the federal head: the federal arm should certainly in time crush those double traitors, who, by a cruel separation, would maim the body and mortify the limb. During a slow deliberation, the fire may spread with such a rage, as not to be quenched without torrents of federal blood. It is true, that a unanimous vote would be desirable in this case; but we must allow a proportion to selfish, timid, and erroneous opinions. Perhaps it will be difficult to get a bare majority in a very enlightened and upright congress, from an indulgence to revolution principles carried to extremes by many well disposed minds, and from the natural reluctance against violent means, while there is any hope in gentle proceedings.

The same convention also request, "that congress shall not introduce foreign troops into the united states,

without the consent of two-thirds of the members present of both houses," 26th am. America, well united, has nothing to fear from any power that will probably ever attack her, while she acts towards other nations with integrity and wisdom. At the same time, as she may in some emergency act in concert with an ally, his troops may with propriety be admitted. If this caution implies a suspicion of congress, is it not more reasonable to surmise, that one or two states may be inveigled by a foreign power, and supported by a formidable army? In such a woful situation, an ally may be very acceptable, nor should it be in the power of the disaffected in congress to refuse him admittance.

Though I cannot see the propriety of requiring the consent of two-thirds of congress on the matters now discussed; yet I must observe, that if the word present implies a fear of absentees, I heartily agree to the necessity of very full houses when such capital resolves are to be made. A legislator who is then kept away by gain, pleasure or idleness, is, with all his abilities or domestic virtues, a mean wretch, who ought to be severely punished for being such a slovenly, faithless guardian of his country's dearest interests. This remark is the more essential, as a traitor may, by an insidious absence, injure his country both by carrying and losing an important motion.

The conventions of Virginia and North Carolina, in the 10th am. and the minority of Maryland desire, "that no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war." This amendment is superfluous, because money for the support of troops is appropriated only for two years: if a new appropriation is made, troops can be kept; if not, they must be disbanded.

The above minority, and the convention of New Hampshire, 10th am. request, "that soldiers in time of peace may not be quartered upon private houses without the consent of the owners." If barracks and public houses can be had, this inconvenience will certainly be avoided; but otherwise, if regular troops are requisite,

they must be provided with necessities. Suppose a regiment on their march in the dead of winter; must the brave fellows lie in the field, because church people will not let them sleep on their floors? Federal soldiers deserve the affection of their country as well as the militia, being its defenders and not oppressors; unreasonable prejudices against them are illiberal, and inconsistent with federal sentiments. To render those troops more agreeable to the people, and more useful to the united states, they should be chosen with discretion; a man of principle will die for his country; a villain will stab it for good pay.



Address of the republican society of Philadelphia, to the citizens of Pennsylvania.

Friends and fellow citizens,

THE members of the republican society beg leave to address you on a subject of the utmost importance to you, and to posterity; and at a time when this important subject demands your most serious and attentive consideration.

But who are the members of this republican society? Our names are subscribed to this address. We have, and can have no common interest with one another, but that which we have also with you. We are of different occupations; of different sects of religion; and have different views in life. No faction or private system can comprehend us all; but one powerful source of attraction unites us—the liberty and happiness of Pennsylvania. To accomplish and secure these great ends, we embarked in opposition to the power and tyranny of Great Britain; and, in the several stations and characters in which it has been our lot to act, have continued uniform and steady in that opposition, through every hardship and risk which attended it. It is our fixed determination to persevere in the same line of conduct. But while we oppose tyranny from a foreign power, we should think ourselves lost to every sense of duty and of shame, were we tamely to acquiesce in a system of government, which, in our opinion, will introduce the same monster, so destructive of humanity, among our-

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selves. Such a system we conceive the constitution formed by the late convention to be. We mean not that, in all its parts, it is repugnant to the principles of liberty: though, while some articles remain, we are convinced, upon the most impartial examination, that its general tendency and operation will be to join the qualities of the different extremes of bad government. It will produce general weakness, inactivity, and confusion, intermixed with sudden and violent fits of despotism, injustice, and cruelty. Cannot a discrimination be made between its salutary and its pernicious properties? We have the instruction of ancient and modern times for our guides: we have the conduct of the other states in the union for our example. The wisdom and patriotism of Pennsylvania are not inferior to the wisdom and patriotism of other commonwealths. Shall it be said, to our disgrace, that we enjoy an inferior portion of their genuine effects? The supposition is too degrading. An opportunity is now presented to you, to shew that it is false. You are called upon by your representatives in assembly to testify your sentiments, on the first Tuesday of April next, whether you will choose to labour under the burdensome and disadvantageous parts of the constitution; or will substitute in their place such establishments, as will insure to you the blessings of freedom, happiness, and independence. Let not such a glorious occasion be lost. Perhaps it may never return. Rivetted oppression, rendered doubly insupportable by unavailing repentance and regret, may be the only portion left you. The distant probability that this may be your case and ours, fills us with the most anxious concern; and induces us to communicate to you a number of particulars, which are either unknown or misrepresented. Our honest freedom, we are well assured, you will take in good part. Our situation in the capital gives us an opportunity of being thoroughly acquainted with facts, and characters, and schemes, which are not seen, or are seen through a disguise, in the more distant places of the state. We should be inexcusable, if, in a matter so momentous and interesting to us all,

we omitted to act that part towards you, which, in similar circumstances, we would wish you to act towards us. You cannot be happy, if we are miserable; we cannot be miserable, if you are happy. Embarked thus on the same bottom, let us join in every thing for procuring a prosperous voyage, and for avoiding shipwreck on the rocks and quicksands that lie in our course.

You have been told (for the infamous report has been circulated industriously) that the opposition to the constitution is supported and conducted only by tories, and persons disaffected to the liberties and independence of the united states. We know, and we feel the representation to be false. Some of us have been honoured with seats in your councils, and in the councils of the continent; and in the darkest seasons, have neither betrayed nor deserted our trusts, when we sat with halters around our necks. Others of us have fought at your head and by your side in the field; and have braved, in conjunction with you, the utmost terrors of the foe. In our several stations and situations in life, all of us have acted against the common enemy, and in support of the common cause; and all of us have given unequivocal proofs of our attachment to the principles of freedom. What we say of ourselves, we know to be true of others in the same opposition. We call upon the most audacious of those who calumniate us, to disprove what we now assert to you and to the public. By the uniform tenor of our conduct we are willing to stand or fall.

Ambition, the love of power and of office, have been assigned as the motives of our opposition to the constitution. How injuriously this charge has been made against us, you may easily determine, when we inform you (what our enemies themselves cannot deny) that the first offices in government have been offered to members of this society, and have been rejected by them: not that such members are more insensible to honour and profit than others; but because views of honour and profit could operate no change upon their principles and conduct. This cannot be said of all who are now in office.

We wish you to embrace every occasion of enquiring into these matters, and of forming your judgments of men and characters, not from the vehemence of their expressions, when there is no danger in uttering them with vehemence, but from the calm and undaunted firmness, with which they speak and act in trying circumstances, when dangers and difficulties surround and threaten to overwhelm them.

Permit us now to state, with the openness and candour which should be always observed among fellow-citizens, our objections to some of the articles (and those some of the most important ones too) in the constitution; together with the amendments we wish to see made, and those mischiefs and calamities which are likely to happen, if no alteration shall take place.

Our first and principal objection to the constitution formed by the late convention, is—that it vests the whole legislative authority in a single body, without any controul. Many arguments might be offered against this. Let us introduce one by the declaration of an admired judge, whose manly candour must charm every generous mind. “It is the glory and happiness of our excellent constitution, that, to prevent any injustice, no man is to be concluded by the first judgment: but that, if he apprehends himself to be aggrieved, he has another court to which he may resort for relief. For my own part, I can say it is a consideration of great comfort to me, that if I do err, my judgment is not conclusive to the party; but my mistake will be rectified, and so no injustice be done.” Is less skill required—should less caution be observed, in framing laws, than in explaining them? are mistakes less likely to be made—are they less dangerous—is it less necessary to prevent or rectify them in the former case, than in the latter? which is of the most importance—to preserve the fountain, or to preserve the streams from becoming turbid?

But there is a still greater danger, than that arising from mistakes and inaccuracies, to be apprehended from a single body possessed of the supreme legislative power. We should be supported by high authority were we to say, “it is no better than a tyranny.”

Its natural tendency towards despotism is too apparent to be proved, or to be denied. It is admitted by the strongest implication in many parts of the constitution. Whence, upon any other supposition, the numerous checks (as they have been called, though in truth they are no checks) upon the assembly? whence so much jealousy? those who discovered it, well knew that they were instituting a dangerous power.

It is said that to introduce a legislative council is to introduce a house of lords. The insects of faction have been busy in buzzing this about your ears. No calumny was ever more gross or more futile. Trace it; and you will find it altogether founded in deception and falsehood. Ask those deceivers to shew you any reason, why a legislative council, chosen by the people, is any more a house of lords, than an assembly chosen by the people. You see them bewildered, and unable to give a reasonable answer. For surely an assembly and a council, mutually controuled by each other, are less dangerous, and have less resemblance to a despotic aristocracy, than a single assembly, without any constitutional controul. The checks mentioned in the constitution are really no controul; for if the assembly choose to disregard them, to whom shall we apply for relief? to the assembly. Shall the lamb, upon whom the devouring jaws of the wolf are opened, apply to the wolf for protection? with equal propriety might an injured people apply to the oppressors for redress. No. They may go on violating the constitution step by step, till nothing but a revolution can put a stop to their career.

There is not, in the whole science of politics, a more solid or a more important maxim than this, “that of all governments, those are the best, which, by the natural effect of their original constitutions, are frequently renewed or drawn back to their first principles.” If the assembly departed from the principles of the constitution, it would be drawn back by a legislative council. If the council should depart from them, it would be drawn back by the assembly. But when a single legislature is disposed to depart from them, there is no power that

can confine it within its proper bounds.

It is objected, that disputes and contentions would naturally arise between the two houses; and would stop or retard the public business. Perfection is in vain sought for in the works of man. Every inconvenience cannot be avoided; a lesser should be submitted to, in order to prevent a greater. The danger of dissensions is not to be compared to the danger of tyranny. But the truth is, that there is little to be apprehended upon that head. The council and assembly would both draw their power from the same source—from the people, the fountain of all authority. They could not have opposite interests, which are the causes of frequent contests. As both would be dependent upon the people, both would be cautious not to neglect or oppose the public welfare. If any divisions should take place, they could not be lasting; because the people would have it in their power, at the next election, to remove the offenders.

It is not proposed that there should be, as there were in Rome, and as there are in Venice and other aristocratic states, two distinct orders of men, one of them possessing peculiar powers and privileges, not depending upon the authority of the people—Such an establishment would be equally disagreeable and equally pernicious to us and to you. We disavow the injurious imputation; it is replete with malice and slander. May merit and the unbiased voice of the people be the only rules to distinction ever known in Pennsylvania.

In all the most celebrated free governments of antiquity, the legislatures were composed of different branches. In all the other American states, excepting Georgia, the legislatures consist of distinct bodies of men. Whence then the clamour of novelty, which has been raised and propagated with so much ignorance, or so much dishonesty? A single legislature is the novelty; and the example of Pennsylvania will serve as a beacon, rather than a precedent. For while the other states enjoy happiness and tranquility under their governments, Pennsylvania exhibits mournful scenes of weakness and distraction.

VOL. V.

The mode in which the courts of justice are established, is another part of the constitution to which we have weighty objections. The judges hold their offices, and enjoy their salaries upon too precarious a footing. That judges were not appointed during good behaviour, has been long the subject of well grounded complaint, not only in Pennsylvania, but in every other part of America. It is truly astonishing that the foundation of this complaint was not removed, when we had such a favourable opportunity of removing it. No state can enjoy internal peace and security, unless the administration of justice is able and impartial, and unless the judges are placed in a situation to maintain dignified and independent characters. But how can we expect dignity and independence in judges, who are liable to be tossed about by every veering gale of politics, and who can be saved from destruction only by swimming along with every successive torrent of party? The decisions of courts will cease to be the voice of law and justice, and will become the echo of faction and violence. This is a subject which most nearly concerns every one who sets the least value upon his own safety, or that of his posterity. Your fortunes, and lives, and liberties, are all liable to be affected by the judgments of the courts. How distressing and melancholy must the reflection be, that, while judges have their salaries only at pleasure, and their commissions only for the term of a few years, your liberties, fortunes, and lives, may be sacrificed to a party, though you have done nothing to forfeit them to the law?

What shall we say of the council of censors? Here indeed is a novelty, and a novelty of the most dangerous and alarming kind. Our constitution-makers, not satisfied with the habitual despotism of a single and uncontrolled legislature, have appointed stated seasons for extraordinary efforts of lawless power. They have instituted a jubilee of tyranny to be celebrated at the end of every seven years. Glorious period! When the foundations of government shall be torn up! When anarchy, and violence, and force, shall reign unawed and unrestrained! When there shall be no fixed laws, to which you can appeal for

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the justification of your conduct! When there shall be no courts to which you can have recourse for protection! When trials by jury, those odious obstructions that lie in the way of tyrants, shall be happily removed! Are you pleased with the prospect? If you wish not to feel it realized by direful experience, lay hold eagerly upon the present opportunity which is offered you, of preventing it, by voting for a new convention to abolish this part of the constitution.

After what we have already mentioned with regard to the foregoing parts of the constitution, you will be at no loss to discover our sentiments concerning that part of it, which requires from every one, in any office, an oath "not to do or say any thing, directly or indirectly, that shall be prejudicial or injurious to the constitution as established by the convention." This we consider as a most daring invasion upon the inherent, the unalienable, and the indefeasible right of every freeman to judge and act for himself. This oath is not only required of all officers, by the constitution, but, by a separate ordinance, which the convention had no authority to make, it was extorted from all the citizens of Pennsylvania, before they could exercise the first right of freemen—that of choosing their legislators. A set of men, chosen by not a tenth part of the inhabitants of the state, met at Philadelphia, and called themselves representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania. Conscious that they did not stand upon the broad and firm basis of the affections of the people, but determined to continue their ill founded power as long as possible, they and their successors have pursued, and still pursue, every measure calculated to weaken and divide the whig interest of the state. Their emissaries are busy through the country, representing every one in opposition to their government, as opposed to the welfare of the public, and attached either to the cause of Great Britain, or that of the proprietary family. The authors of those calumnies know them to be false; but they serve a temporary purpose. They deceive and mislead those, who are not acquainted with the true state of things, or the real characters of men. Judge impartially of men and things;

and then your own good sense will tell you what part to take. Placemen will talk to you loudly and warmly against a convention. The charms of power may bewitch them; but they ought not to blind you. The sweets of office produce surprising effects upon some minds. Many officers under the government once thought with us; and some of them were as vehement, both in public and private, as those who now address you. What change, and whether any, may have been wrought upon them by the high places of trust to which they have since been raised, let their own conduct determine. We doubt not but each of you, in your neighbourhood, can point to men, who, some time ago, were zealous and active against the constitution, but have lately been softened, by the insinuating operations of places and salaries and perquisites, into tameness and acquiescence and even approbation. What dependence can be put in the characters and principles of such men, we leave you to judge.

Some of them, perhaps, will not be so barefaced as to deny, in direct terms, what they have formerly asserted: but they will endeavour to accomplish the same purpose by indirect and more artful methods. They will not tell you, that there should be no alterations made in the constitution; but they will say, that this is not the proper time for making them. So placemen, and the minions of placemen, talked at the beginning of the present controversy with Great Britain. They did not pretend to say, that the claims and conduct of the British parliament were not unjust and oppressive; but they insinuated, that it was improper, at that time, to contend against them. Others will allege, that you have not felt oppression yet; and it is soon enough to guard against it, when it comes to your door. Those who wished to prevent the union of America, told you, in the same manner, when the port of Boston was shut, and the charter of Massachusetts-Bay violated, wait till your ports are shut up, and your charter broken, and then indeed it will be time to bestir yourselves. Had you listened to the insidious advice, what would have become of the liberties of

America? experiments of slavery are dangerous: they are such as freemen will be ever unwilling to make.

A third class will apparently admit the justice of the measure; but will find fault with the manner of carrying it on. When the assembly seem disposed to promote it, they will say that it should originate by petitions from the people. When petitions are handed about among the people, they will say, you should wait till your representatives in assembly signify their sense upon the subject.

Every expedient will be used to turn your eyes from the great object, on which they ought to be fixed. But be not deceived. The important question, now in agitation, involves in it your nearest and dearest interests. Now is the time to consider it with all the anxious attention that it deserves. You have an opportunity now before you, of avoiding those dangers with which you are threatened. If you do not embrace it, the blame will be upon yourselves; but the consequences will reach and affect us all. We repeat, what we have already mentioned, that those who subscribe this address have no common interest with one another, but that which they have also with you. Insinuations and sly whispers, that we wish to establish an interest separate from that of the state, are futile and groundless. Read over the list of the subscribers; enquire into our occupations and professions, and different walks of life, and you will be convinced that the imputation contains in it the greatest absurdity. Are we all desirous of becoming lords? But let us tell you one thing; and remember that we now tell it to you, If there are any among us, in whose breasts the seeds of an ambition to tyrannize over their fellow-citizens lie latent, they will be cherished and cultivated by continuing the present constitution. We have already seen how easy the task is for any character to rise into power and consequence under it. And there are some of us, who think not so meanly of ourselves, as to dread any rivalry from those who are now in office. Trust not us—trust no man—trust no body of men with uncontrolled power. If any of those, who address you, should

become, at some future period, debauched by power under the present constitution, and use it for their own aggrandisement, instead of the public good, you will then recollect, but the recollection may be then too late, that we have now given you an honest, and a most solemn warning against them.

R. BACHE, chairman.

<i>S. Morris, jun.</i>	<i>James White,</i>
<i>Samuel Meredith,</i>	<i>J. Humphreys, jun.</i>
<i>Tho. Fitzsimons,</i>	<i>Benjamin Rush,</i>
<i>John Wilcocks,</i>	<i>Jacob Rush,</i>
<i>J. Cadwalader,</i>	<i>T. Leaming, jun.</i>
<i>George Clymer,</i>	<i>Thomas Franklin,</i>
<i>John Nixon,</i>	<i>John Mease,</i>
<i>J. Cowperthwait,</i>	<i>Peter Scull,</i>
<i>Ben. G. Eyre,</i>	<i>Robert Morris,</i>
<i>James Caldwell,</i>	<i>Thomas Mifflin,</i>
<i>George Ross,</i>	<i>Isaac Melcher,</i>
<i>James Wilson,</i>	<i>Jona. Mifflin, jun.</i>
<i>John Murray,</i>	<i>Peter Z. Lloyd,</i>
<i>William Allibone,</i>	<i>William Gray,</i>
<i>Thomas Smith,</i>	<i>John Chaloner,</i>
<i>Joseph Moulder,</i>	<i>J. Hiltzheimer,</i>
<i>W. Humphreys,</i>	<i>John Benezet,</i>
<i>Jacob Shallus,</i>	<i>J. M. Nesbitt,</i>
<i>E. Biddle,</i>	<i>Henry Hill,</i>
<i>Sharp Delany,</i>	<i>Sam. Howell, jun.</i>
<i>George Meade,</i>	<i>Lewis Weiss,</i>
<i>F. C. Hassenclever,</i>	<i>George Woods,</i>
<i>James Mease,</i>	<i>John Colkover,</i>
<i>Natha. Falconer,</i>	<i>B. Dougherty,</i>
<i>William V. Phel,</i>	<i>Philip Wager,</i>
<i>Peter Baynton,</i>	<i>Lambert Cadwalader.</i>
<i>Mark Bird,</i>	<i>George Campbell,</i>
<i>Thomas Smith,</i>	<i>James Crawford,</i>
<i>William Alricks,</i>	<i>Samuel Caldwell,</i>
<i>Ste. Chambers,</i>	<i>James Read,</i>
<i>Alex. Nesbitt,</i>	<i>John Brown,</i>
<i>G. Noarth,</i>	<i>John Baker,</i>
<i>John Patton,</i>	<i>Alexander Foster,</i>
<i>John Shree,</i>	<i>John White,</i>
<i>Samuel Nicholas,</i>	<i>Thomas Forrest,</i>
<i>Andrew Bunner,</i>	<i>F. Hopkinson,</i>
<i>John Donaldson,</i>	<i>James Craig, jun.</i>
<i>John Lardner,</i>	<i>John Parke,</i>
<i>Robert Roberts,</i>	<i>Samuel Miles,</i>
<i>C. Thompson,</i>	<i>Ephraim Blaine.</i>
<i>William Govett,</i>	

Philadelphia, March 1779.

An address from the subscribers, members of the legislature of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to their constituents, and the other freemen thereof.

Friends and fellow-citizens,

WHEN we were honoured by your free suffrages, with a seat

in the legislature of Pennsylvania, we undertook the delicate and arduous office, with a due sense of the importance of our station, and the extensive influence that our conduct might have upon your liberties, and the liberties of your descendants. We were elected for the express purpose of legislation, under the present constitution, and considered ourselves as the guardians of those invaluable rights and privileges secured to you by it, and as being prohibited in the strongest manner, by every possible moral and political obligation, from doing any act or thing, directly or indirectly injurious to the constitution as established by the convention. Every member of the legislature of this commonwealth, has actually taken the following oaths or affirmations, viz. "I do swear (or affirm) that I will be true and faithful to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and that I will not directly or indirectly do any act or thing prejudicial or injurious to the constitution or government thereof, as established by the convention. And also, I do swear (or affirm) that as a member of this assembly, I will not propose or assent to any bill, vote, or resolution, which shall appear to me injurious to the people, nor do or consent to any act or thing whatsoever, that shall have a tendency to lessen or abridge their rights and privileges, as declared in the constitution of this state, but will in all things conduct myself as a faithful honest representative, and guardian of the people, according to the best of my judgment and abilities."

Under the influence of such solemn obligations, we would esteem ourselves unfaithful guardians of those liberties you have committed to our charge, and unworthy of the trust you have reposed in us, if we failed to give you notice of any attempts to invade or abridge them; that you might, by a manly and resolute exertion, at this critical conjuncture, assert and vindicate that free and equal constitution, which an overborne minority in your assembly is no longer able to preserve.

You will be justly astonished, when we assure you, that notwithstanding such solemn obligations, a majority of your present legislature have entered into a number of resolutions, calculated to induce you to call a conven-

tion for the purpose of altering the constitution of this commonwealth, and thereby entrap you to give the finishing stroke to your expiring liberties with your own hands. After having opposed these destructive resolutions during their progress through the house, with all the arguments that could be suggested, from the solemnity of our oaths, the importance of our trust, the destructive tendency of the resolutions themselves, and unreasonableness of the measure, we had nothing remaining but to enter our solemn but unavailing protest upon the minutes of the house.

Having done so much in the character of guardians of the rights and liberties of our fellow-citizens, we do not think we have done all our duty, until we have warned you, with all that solicitude which the sacred trust you have reposed in us demands, of the extreme danger that will attend your complying with the recommendation of the majority of your assembly to call a convention to alter our constitution. You can easily remember that this is the fourth attempt of the same aristocratic party, to betray you into a voluntary surrender of your liberties by the alteration of your frame of government, but every attempt they have hitherto made has been treated with an indignation becoming free citizens, and the authors thereof have been covered with disgrace and confusion. But heretofore, when they were taking measures to destroy your constitution, they were so imprudent as to publish what they wished you to adopt in its stead, and the bare inspection of it, procured that rejection which it deserved from a free and enlightened people. This was particularly the case with the plan of government this party prepared for you in 1784, which breathed nothing but the spirit of despotism, and whose every feature was distorted with their insatiable lust of power, and we have no reason to believe their principles are changed for the better since that memorable period. You then thought your liberties were safer in the hands of plain honest citizens, who had not yet learned to trifle with the solemnity of an oath, who had not gotten the better of the virtuous principles of their education; and who, having no hopes of di-

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viding among themselves the emoluments of lucrative offices, would be obliged to submit to the same plan of government with yourselves. And we trust the same spirit of liberty is still alive in the state of Pennsylvania, and will now be aroused to assert your privileges. Why should the liberties of Pennsylvania be constantly in danger from this restless spirit of despotism or from the open or more concealed attempts of the very men who are honoured by her confidence and supported in their power by her treasures? Their principles are not changed, their views are the same, and all their measures are evidently calculated to accomplish the same object; unless you will call this a change of principle, that some of these men, who could not, in the year 1778, take the preceding oaths, without an express reservation to themselves of a liberty to attempt an alteration in the constitution, when they should judge it prudent and practicable, have now been able to take the oaths which they imagined at that time abridged them of this liberty, without any qualifying reservations, whatsoever, and yet have concurred with their party in this direct attempt to procure an alteration of the constitution. Whether this change of principle bears a favourable aspect on your liberties we leave you to determine.

There is reason to believe, that they have covered their real designs with these specious, but fallacious pretences, viz. "That the burden and expenses of the present form of government are with difficulty borne. And that various instances occur, wherein this form is contradictory to the constitution of the united states, which every member of the legislature, and all the executive and judicial officers are bound by oath or affirmation to support." These are the only reasons they have given for so dangerous and precipitate a measure; and in order to induce you to call a convention, they have confidently asserted, "that these are circumstances which will not admit of the delay of the method prescribed by the constitution." They flattered themselves, that the expenses of the support of government, would be a popular argument with you, who must pay them with your taxes, to

adopt any other form that would promise a diminution of them, while the same privileges are preserved to you. But, unhappily for them, the argument is neither true in fact, nor can we think they believe it themselves, at the same time that they with you to be influenced by the delusive prospect. We shall endeavour to state this matter in the plainest light.

In this let us take to our assistance the wisdom and economy of the two largest states in the union, Virginia and Massachusetts, which agree nearest with Pennsylvania in extent of territory, number of inhabitants, resources, and representation in congress. The annual expenses of Massachusetts appear by their own public accounts to be thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds Pennsylvania currency, and of Virginia fifty thousand pounds of the same currency, whilst those of Pennsylvania amount to no more than twenty-eight thousand pounds per annum, by the statement of the comptroller general (including incidental expenses) and even this will be lessened for the time to come. So that the form of government of Pennsylvania appears from this comparison to be the most friendly to economy. If the projectors of this measure, really believed the expenses were too great, why have they not lessened them for these three years past, during which time they have had an uncontrolled majority in the legislature; they had the power to do it, and if the business was practicable and expedient, it was certainly their duty, and not the business of a convention; nay why have they on the contrary been employed in creating new and needless offices for the support of their needy friends and dependents, and in splitting up counties, and thereby increasing the number of counsellors, which they profess to assert are too numerous already? besides all this, you can all see that the establishment of a second house of legislature, in which the better born may be separated from the common countrymen in their deliberations, which is the avowed object of the opposers of your simple constitution, will be so far from lessening, that it will greatly increase the expenses and burdens of your government. Judge then,

whether they really mean to lessen your taxes by the proposed measure, or whether they only mean to provide for themselves and their dependents at your expense. Judge of their feeling the burden of your taxes, when in this very session, in which they pretend to complain that it was too great for you to bear, they have created a new officer, never before heard of in this state, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, with an allowance for as many clerks as may be deemed necessary, in addition to all you have hitherto paid, for the support of one of their zealous partizans, and at the same time for the eventual removal of one of the most industrious and independent officers of the government, who could have done all the business of the new-erected officer, with the assistance of another clerk, which they refused to allow; and so solicitous were they to provide for their friend at your expense, that they would not trust the supreme executive council with the nomination of the officer, whose business it was by your constitution, but inserted his name in the bill, which was brought in and read for the first time in the forenoon, called up and read a second time by special order immediately afterwards, and debated by paragraphs, ordered to be printed for consideration in the same forenoon; the bill was brought in wet from the hands of the workmen, and was read a third time the same day in which it originated, was ordered to be engrossed, and was passed into a law the next morning, in open defiance of your constitution, which prescribes that bills shall lie over, printed for consideration, from one session to another, before they are finally passed into laws, excepting in cases of necessity. An instance of precipitancy this, which was never known before in Pennsylvania, not even when the enemy were in possession of your capital.

As to their second reason, for your calling a convention to alter your form of government, viz. "That it is in many cases contradictory to the federal constitution of the united states:" it is equally frivolous, unfounded, and delusory with the other. Because, a convention of this state, with equal authority to that of the convention

who framed your constitution, has already adopted the federal constitution, and thereby has repealed every article of your plan of government, which was contradictory to it. For they have, without reservation or condition, adopted this clause, in the sixth article of the federal government, among others, viz. "that the constitution and the laws of the united states, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the united states, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." After adopting this article by the state of Pennsylvania, what article of your constitution remains to clash with the federal government, or withstand the irresistible force of a law of congress? How idle and fallacious then is the argument for a change in your plan of government, to make it conformable to that of the united states; when these very men know, that you have already, by the highest authority in the state, made the constitution and the laws of congress paramount to all your laws, and your constitution into the bargain? Do not the constitutions of all the different states in the union equally clash with the constitution of the united states, and have you heard of any of them calling a convention to alter their constitution, and shall Pennsylvania be the first to run into so foolish and expensive a measure, to repeat what they have already done by the highest authority they possess? Besides, as far as the argument they have made use of, has any operation, it operates directly against the measure proposed, and shews the impropriety of taking up the business at this time. It is by no means improbable, that the federal government may yet receive very material alterations and amendments. Under the old confederation the union consisted of thirteen states, seven of which have disapproved of the new constitution in its present form. Two, viz. North Carolina and Rhode Island have refused to ratify it unless amended, and five states (amongst which are the important states of Virginia, Massachu-

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setts, and New-York) have ratified it, on condition that it should be a standing instruction to their representatives to take measures to procure certain amendments; therefore thirty-two members of the house of representatives, which is a majority, come from those five states—so that if alterations are at all proper to be made in our form of government, on this account, it would certainly be prudent to wait the deliberations of the new congress, and the applications from the different states for amendments, lest we should be under the necessity of calling a convention a second time.

If our constitution needs any amendments, it must be, to erect firmer barriers, than oaths of office, to restrain the guardians of your liberties from trampling upon them at their pleasure, and to confine them to the business for which alone you have honoured them with your confidence. But if any of our fellow-citizens should be of opinion, that it could receive an improvement in any other respect, the convention who framed it at first, has prudently provided for this in the appointment of a council of censors, who are to meet, by the constitution, in one year after the proposed time of calling the new convention, and possibly before we can know the final result of the deliberations of congress on the subject of amendments to the federal constitution. We are aware that our opponents object to the mode pointed out by the constitution, of altering it by means of a council of censors, which they say is an unequal representation of the people, the smallest county sending as many members as the largest, and the consent of two-thirds of the censors being necessary to the calling of a convention; but we believe it will be allowed on all hands, that some check is necessary to prevent a continual fluctuation in the principles of government. If the first principles of society can be superceded by an act of the house, which are only entrusted with the ordinary business of legislation, it will be as easy to change the constitution as to enact a law. Besides, if the council of censors are an unequal representation, 'tis owing to the inequality of the counties, the erection of which depends on the legislature. Some of them it is true are

pitifully small. But the same difficulty occurs in altering every other form of government, particularly that of the united states, which has been so highly extolled as being perfect. It cannot be altered even after a recommendation of congress for the purpose, without the consent of two-thirds of the states, and the trifling states of Delaware, Rhode-Island and Georgia, have the same vote as the important ones of Virginia Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts; and the senate of the united states is also formed on the same principle, every state in the union sending an equal number of senators—On the whole we think experience has shewn our constitution to be equal to any in the union. There is certainly no necessity for altering it at present—it secures more liberty in the hands of the people than any other form of government can boast. It has had no fair chance from the beginning, but has been constantly opposed by the same set of men who now attempt to destroy it. Mischiefs have been created by them which they have charged to the constitution. Pennsylvania under her present constitution has supported her internal credit, by discharging her engagements to her citizens, and complying with the demands of the united states, in an equal degree with any state in the union.

But they say that the expensiveness of our plan of government, and its being contradictory to the federal constitution in some instances, are "circumstances which will not admit of the delay of the method prescribed by the constitution," and hence they advise you to recur to first principles, and call a convention to alter your constitution, without any regard to the mode which it prescribes. You have already seen how unfounded in fact, and frivolous, these pretended circumstances are, which they say cannot admit of the delay of a single year. We now request your serious attention to the dangerous consequences of complying with their advice.

When you amend your constitution in the mode which it prescribes, it continues in force until it is amended, and all the operations of government proceed in their usual course, without interruption or confusion. But when you recur to your original and inher-

rent right to alter or amend your government, without any regard to the prescription of your present constitution, you immediately unhinge all government, displace every officer in the state, shut up the courts of justice, and throw the whole commonwealth into anarchy and confusion, until a new government be provided. And are these pretended circumstances of so much weight in themselves, as to make it prudent for you to endanger the peace, prosperity, and protection of your fellow citizens, to expose the community to the alarming hazard of anarchy and confusion, and of all the train of evils that would result from dissolving the bands of government, together with the heats, animosities and tumults, that would probably arise from such a measure, in preference to waiting for so short a time as a single year, when every alteration that may be necessary, can be made in a calm and dispassionate manner, by the intervention and advice of the council of censors, without any of these alarming consequences? Should this destructive measure that is now recommended to you by the majority of your assembly, receive your sanction and approbation, there is nothing in the privileges of government which the people can afterwards call their own. Every succeeding assembly may as easily step out of the ordinary business of legislation, which alone is entrusted to their management, and under the influence of the prevailing party of the day, blow the trumpet of discord, and pretend a necessity of change after change, until uncertainty, confusion, and contradictory systems of government, shall involve the whole state in anarchy and uproar, until it be finally settled by the introduction of a military force, the usual expedient of tyrants, to support the despotism and ambition of a prevailing faction.

These avowed enemies of your equal constitution have invited you to petition them to make provision for the meeting of the wished for convention, not doubting but that a sufficient number of signers may be procured by a little industry and influence, when they have seen in their last session upwards of ten thousand petitioners procured on the business of opening the theatre, in the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, when the city of Phila-

delphia does not contain five thousand taxables.

We on the contrary beseech you to turn your attention to this important business at a crisis so alarming to your liberties, and with the steadiness and resolution of men that are yet free, remonstrate against their attempts upon your constitution: and we doubt not but that the sleeping spirit of liberty will be roused upon this occasion, as it has been before on similar attempts, and cover its enemies with that disgrace and confusion they deserve.

We are happy to inform you that the honourable the supreme executive council were so fully sensible of the impropriety of the conduct of the house at this time, that though a majority of the members of council now present are unfriendly to our constitution, yet they conceived that they could not, consistent with their duty as counsellors, or the oaths they have taken, promulgate the recommendation of the house, as they were requested to do, and accordingly rejected it, as will appear by the following extract from their minutes:—

"In council, March 28, 1789.

"Upon consideration of a resolution of the general assembly of the 24th instant, requesting council to promulgate the proceedings of the house of that day, containing a recommendation to the good people of this state on the subject of alterations and amendments of the constitution of this state:—

"Resolved that this board cannot comply with the said request of the legislature."

We shall make no remarks on the other proceedings of the legislature during the late session, but conclude by requesting our constituents and the rest of the citizens of Pennsylvania to turn their earnest attention to this very important business, "and may he who alone has dominion over the passions and understandings of men enlighten, and direct you aright, that posterity may bless God for the wisdom of their ancestors."

Thomas Kennedy, James M'lene,
Thomas Beale, James Johnston,
David Mitchell, Alex. Wright,
John Ludwig, John Gilchrist,
John Piper, Theophilus Phillips,
James Barr, Adam Orth,
James Allison, Jacob Milcy.

Philadelphia, April 3, 1789.

ADDRESS to the PEOPLE of IRELAND,

from the delegates appointed by the united colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in general congress, at Philadelphia, the 10th of May 1775. Friends and fellow-subjects,

AS the important contest into which we have been driven, is now become interesting to every European state, and particularly affects the members of the British empire, we think it our duty to address you on the subject. We are desirous, as is natural to injured innocence, of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with a true state of our motives and objects, the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy, and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision.

However incredible it may appear, that, at this enlightened period, the leaders of a nation, which in every age has sacrificed hecatombs of her bravest patriots on the altar of liberty, should presume gravely to assert, and by force of arms, attempt to establish an arbitrary sway over the lives, liberties, and property of their fellow-subjects in America: it is nevertheless a most deplorable and indisputable truth.

These colonies have, from the time of their first settlement, for near two centuries, peaceably enjoyed those very rights, of which the ministry have, for ten years past, endeavoured by fraud and by violence to deprive them. At the conclusion of the last war, the genius of England, and the spirit of wisdom, as if offended at the ungrateful treatment of their sons, withdrew from the British council, and left that nation a prey to a race of ministers, with whom ancient English honesty and benevolence disdained to dwell. From that period, jealousy, discontent, oppression, and discord, have raged among all his majesty's subjects, and filled every part of his dominions with distress and complaint.

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Not content with our purchasing of Britain at her own price, clothing, and a thousand other articles used by near three millions of people on this vast continent—not satisfied with the amazing profits arising from the monopoly of our trade, without giving us either time to breathe after a long though glorious war, or the least credit for the blood and treasure we have expended in it—notwithstanding the zeal we had manifested for the service of our sovereign, and the warmest attachment to the constitution of Great Britain and the people of England, a black and horrid design was formed, to convert us from freemen into slaves, from subjects into vassals, and from friends into enemies.

Taxes, for the first time since we landed on the American shores, were, without our consent, imposed upon us; an unconstitutional edict to compel us to furnish necessaries for a standing army, that we wished to see disbanded, was issued; and the legislature of New York suspended for refusing to comply with it. Our ancient and inestimable right of trial by jury, was, in many instances, abolished; and the common law of the land made to give place to admiralty jurisdiction. Judges were rendered, by the tenure of their commissions, entirely dependent on the will of a minister. New crimes were arbitrarily created; and new courts, unknown to the constitution, instituted. Wicked and insidious governors have been set over us; and dutiful petitions for the removal of even the notoriously infamous governor Hutchinson, were branded with the opprobrious appellation of scandalous and defamatory. Hardy attempts have been made, under colour of parliamentary authority, to seize Americans and carry them to Great Britain, to be tried for offences committed in the colonies. Ancient charters have no longer remained sacred; that of the Massachusetts Bay was violated; and the form of government essentially mutilated and transformed. On pretence of punishing a violation of some private property, committed by a few disguised individuals, the populous and flourishing town of Boston was surrounded by fleets and armies; its trade destroyed; its port blocked

up; and thirty thousand citizens subjected to all the miseries attending to sudden a convulsion in their commercial metropolis; and, to remove every obstacle to the rigorous execution of this system of oppression, an act of parliament was passed, evidently calculated to indemnify those, who might in the prosecution of it, even embroil their hands in the blood of the inhabitants.

Though pressed by such an accumulation of undeserved injuries, America still remembered her duty to her sovereign. A congress, consisting of deputies from twelve united colonies, assembled: they in the most respectful terms laid their grievances at the foot of the throne; and implored his majesty's interposition in their behalf. They also agreed to suspend all trade with Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies; hoping by this peaceable mode of opposition to obtain that justice from the British ministry, which had been so long solicited in vain. And here permit us to assure you, that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves, to cease our commercial connexion with your island. Your parliament has done us no wrong—you had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge, with pleasure and gratitude, that your nation has produced patriots, who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand, we were not ignorant that the labour and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk worm, were of little moment to herself; but served only to give luxury to those who neither toil nor spin. We perceived, that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement, not to import from Britain, would be fruitless, and were therefore compelled to adopt a measure, to which nothing but absolute necessity could have reconciled us: it gave us, however, some consolation to reflect, that should it occasion much distress, the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe asylum from poverty, and in time, from oppression also—an asylum, in which many thousands of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace, and assistance, and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity,

mutual interest, and affection—nor did congress stop here. Flattered by a pleasing expectation, that the justice and humanity, which had so long characterized the English nation, would, on proper application, afford us relief; they represented their grievances in an affectionate address to their brethren in Britain, and intreated their aid and interposition in behalf of these colonies.

The more fully to evince their respect for their sovereign, the unhappy people of Boston were requested by the congress to submit with patience to their fate; and all America united in a resolution to abstain from every species of violence. During this period, that devoted town suffered unspeakably. Its inhabitants were insulted, and their property violated. Still relying on the clemency and justice of his majesty and the nation, they permitted a few regiments to take possession of their town; to surround it with fortifications; to cut off all intercourse between them and their friends in the country.

With anxious expectation did all America wait the event of their petition. All America laments its fate. Their prince was deaf to their complaints; and vain were all attempts to impress him with a sense of the sufferings of his American subjects; of the cruelty of their task masters, and of the many plagues which impended over his dominions. Instead of directions for a candid enquiry into our grievances, insult was added to oppression, and our long forbearance rewarded with the imputation of cowardice. Our trade with foreign states was prohibited; and an act of parliament passed to prevent even our fishing on our own coasts. Our peaceable assemblies for the purpose of consulting the common safety, were declared seditious; and our asserting the very rights which placed the crown of Great Britain on the heads of the three successive princes of the house of Hanover, styled rebellion. Orders were given to reinforce the troops in America. The wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited, by gifts, to take up the hatchet against us; and instigated to deluge our settlements with the blood of innocent and defenceless women and

children. The whole country was moreover alarmed with the expected horrors of domestic insurrections. Refinements in parental cruelty, at which the genius of Britain must blush! Refinements which admit not of being recited without horror, or practised without infamy! We should be happy, were these dark machinations the mere suggestions of suspicion. We are sorry to declare, that we are possessed of the most authentic and indubitable evidence of their reality.

The ministry, bent on pulling down the pillars of the constitution, endeavoured to erect the standard of despotism in America; and if successful, Britain and Ireland may shudder at the consequences!

Three of their most experienced generals are sent to wage war with their fellow subjects, and America is amazed to find the name of Howe in the catalogue of her enemies. She loved his brother.

Despairing of driving the colonists to resistance by any other means, than actual hostility, a detachment of the army at Boston marched into the country in all the array of war; and, unprovoked, fired upon, and killed several of the inhabitants. The neighbouring farmers suddenly assembled, and repelled the attack. From this, all communication between the town and country was intercepted. The citizens petitioned the general for permission to leave the town, and he promised on surrendering their arms, to permit them to depart with their other effects. They accordingly surrendered their arms, and the general violated his faith. Under various pretences, passports were delayed and denied; and many thousands of the inhabitants are at this day confined in the town in the utmost wretchedness and want. The lame, the blind and the sick, have indeed been turned out into the neighbouring fields; and some, eluding the vigilance of the centries, have escaped from the town, by swimming to the adjacent shores.

The war having thus began on the part of general Gage's troops, the country armed and embodied. The re-inforcements from Ireland soon after arrived; a vigorous attack was then made upon the provincials. In their march, the troops surrounded

the town of Charlestown, consisting of about four hundred houses, then recently abandoned, to escape the fury of a relentless soldiery. Having plundered the houses, they set fire to the town, and reduced it to ashes. To this wanton waste of property, unknown to civilized nations, they were prompted, the better to conceal their approach under cover of the smoke. A shocking mixture of cowardice and cruelty, which then first tarnished the lustre of the British arms, when aimed at a brother's breast!—But blessed be God, they were restrained from committing farther ravages, by the loss of a very considerable part of their army, including many of their most experienced officers. The loss of the inhabitants was inconsiderable.

Compelled, therefore, to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous and unmerited misery!—when we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state—when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity—who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of desolation? Who can censure our repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? Who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self preservation?

Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men. Though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation. Though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws. And though charged with rebellion, will cheerfully bleed in the defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause. What more can we say, what more can we offer?

But we forbear to trouble you with a tedious detail of the various and fruitless offers and applications we have repeatedly made, not for pensions, for wealth, or for honours, but for the humble boon of being permitted to possess the fruits of honest industry, and to enjoy that degree of liberty, to which God and the constitution have given us an undoubted right.

Blessed with an indissoluble union,

with a variety of internal resources, and with a firm reliance on the justice of the supreme Disposer of all human events, we have no doubt of rising superior to all the machinations of evil and abandoned ministers. We already anticipate the golden period, when liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, shall establish her mild dominion in this western world; and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs, who shall have fought, and bled, and suffered in her cause.

Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shewn towards us. We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathise with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us, has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland, some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you. In the rich pastures of Ireland, many hungry paricides have fed, and grown strong to labour in its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten; and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating liberty from the British empire may be soon defeated. But we should be wanting to ourselves—we should be perfidious to posterity—we should be unworthy that ancestry from which we derive our descent, should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredation, to gratify the lordly ambition, or sate the avarice of a British ministry. In defence of our persons and properties, under actual violation, we have taken up arms. When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also. For the achievement of this happy event, we confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly disposition we do not yet despond; aware as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy, than the humble favour of being last devoured.

By order of the congress,
JOHN HANCOCK, president.
attested, C. THOMSON, sec.

Philadelphia, July 28th, 1775.

Account of the battle of Long Island.

In a letter from an American officer, dated August 28, 1776.

YESTERDAY's occurrences, no doubt, will be described to you various ways: I embrace this leisure moment, to give as satisfactory an account as I am able. A large body of the enemy, that landed some time since on Long Island, at the end of a beautiful plain, had extended their troops about six miles from the place of their first landing. There were, at this time, eleven regiments of our troops posted in different parts of the woods, between our lines and the enemy, through which they must pass, if they attempted any thing against us. Early in the morning, our scouting parties discovered a large body of the enemy, both horse and foot, advancing on the Jamaica road towards us: I was dispatched to general Putnam, to inform him of it. On my way back, I discovered, as I thought, our battalion on a hill coming in, dressed in hunting shirts, and was going to join them, but was stopped by a number of our soldiers, who told me they were the enemy in our dress,—on this I prevailed on a sergeant and two men to halt, and fire on them, which produced a shower of bullets, and we were obliged to retire.

In the mean time, the enemy, with a large body, penetrated through the woods on our right and centre or front; and about nine o'clock, landed another body on our right, the whole stretching across the field and woods, between our works and our troops, and sending out parties, accompanied with light horse, which harassed or surrounded and surprised our new troops, who, however, sold their lives dear. Our forces then made towards our lines, but the enemy had taken possession of the ground before them by stolen marches. Our men broke through parties after parties, but still found the enemy's thousands before them. Colonel Smallwood's, Atlee's, and Hazlet's battalions, with general Sterling at their head, had collected on an eminence and made a good stand; but the enemy fired a field piece on them, and, being greatly superior in number, obliged them to retreat into a marsh; finding it out of their power to with-

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stand about six thousand men, they waded through the mud and water to a mill opposite them; their retreat was covered by the second battalion, which had reached our lines. Colonel Lutz's and the New England regiments after this made some resistance in the woods, but were obliged by superior numbers to retire.

Colonel Miles's and Brodhead's battalions, finding themselves surrounded, determined to fight and run; they did so, and broke through English and Hessians, dispersed the horse, and at last came in with considerable loss. Colonel Parry was, early in the day, shot through the head, encouraging his men. Eighty of our battalion came in this morning, having forced their way through the enemy's rear, and come round by the way of Hell Gate; we expect more, who are missing, will come in the same way.



General Howe's account of the action on Long Island, in a letter to lord George Germaine, dated, camp at Newtown, Long Island, September 3, 1776.

My lord,

ON the 22d of last month, in the morning, the British, with colonel Donop's corps of chasseurs and Hessian grenadiers, disembarked near Utrecht, on Long Island, without opposition, the whole being landed, with forty pieces of cannon, in two hours and a half, under the direction of commodore Hotham; lieutenant-general Clinton commanding the first division of the troops.

The enemy had only small parties on the coast, who, upon the approach of the boats, retired to the woody heights, commanding a principal pass on the road from Flatbush, to their works at Brooklyn. Lord Cornwallis was immediately detached to Flatbush, with the reserve, two battalions of light infantry, and colonel Donop's corps, with six field-pieces, having orders not to risk an attack upon the pass, if he should find it occupied; which proving to be the case, his lordship took post in the village, and the army extended from the ferry at the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to the village of Flatland.

On the 23th, lieutenant-general de

Heister, with two brigades of Hessians from Staten Island, joined the army, leaving one brigade of his troops, a detachment of the 14th regiment from Virginia, some convalescents and recruits, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple, for the security of that island.

On the 26th, lieutenant-general de Heister took post at Flatbush, and in the evening, lord Cornwallis with the British, drew off to Flatland. About nine o'clock the same night, the van of the army, commanded by lieutenant-general Clinton, consisting of the light dragoons and brigade of light infantry, the reserve, under the command of lord Cornwallis, excepting the 42d regiment, which was posted on the left of the Hessians, the first brigade, and the 71st regiment, with fourteen field-pieces, began to move from Flatland, across the country through the New Lots, to seize a pass in the heights, extending from east to west, along the middle of the island, and about three miles from Bedford, on the road to Jamaica, in order to turn the enemy's left, posted at Flatbush.

August 27th. General Clinton being arrived within half a mile of the pass, about two hours before day-break, halted and settled his disposition for the attack. One of his patrols, falling in with a patrol of the enemy's officers, took them; and the general learning from their information that the rebels had not occupied the pass, detached a battalion of light infantry to secure it, and advancing with his corps upon the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the heights, with such a disposition as must have insured success, had he found the enemy in force to oppose him.

The main body of the army, consisting of the guards, 2d, 3d, and 5th brigades, with ten field-pieces, led by lord Percy, marched soon after general Clinton, and halted an hour before day in his rear. This column (the country not admitting of two columns of a march) was followed by the 49th regiment, with four medium twelve-pounders, and the baggage closed the rear with separate guard.

As soon as these corps had passed the heights, they halted for the sei-

diers to take a little refreshment, after which the march was continued, and about half an hour past eight o'clock, having got to Bedford, in the rear of the enemy's left, the attack was commenced by the light infantry and light dragoons upon large bodies of the rebels, having cannon, who were quitting the woody heights beforementioned, to return to their lines, upon discovering the march of the army; instead of which they were drove back, and the army still moving on to gain the enemy's rear, the grenadiers and 33d regiment being in front of the column, soon approached within musket shot of the enemy's lines at Brooklyn, from whence these battalions, without regarding the fire of cannon and small arms upon them, pursued numbers of the rebels that were retiring from the heights, so close to their principal redoubt, and with such eagerness to attack it by storm, that it required repeated orders to prevail on them to desist from the attempt. Had they been permitted to go on, it is my opinion they would have carried the redoubt; but as it was apparent the lines must have been ours at a very cheap rate by regular approaches, I would not risque the loss that might have been sustained in the assault, and ordered them back to a hollow way, in the front of the works, out of the reach of musketry.

Lieutenant-general de Heister began soon after day-break to cannonade the enemy in the front, and upon the approach of our right, ordered colonel Donop's corps to advance to the attack of the hill, following himself at the head of the brigades. The light infantry about that time having been reinforced by the light company, and two other companies of the guards, who joined them with the greatest activity and spirit, had taken three pieces of cannon, and were warmly engaged with very superior numbers in the woods, when, on the Hessians advancing, the enemy gave way, and were entirely routed in that quarter.

On the left, major-general Grant having the fourth and sixth brigades, the 42d regiment, and two companies of New-York provincials, raised by governor Tryon in the spring, advanced along the coast, with ten pieces of cannon, to divert the enemy's at-

tention from their left. About midnight he fell in with their advanced parties, and at day-break, with a large corps, having cannon, and advantageously posted, with whom there was a skirmishing and a cannonade for some hours, until by the firing at Brooklyn, the rebels suspecting their retreat would be cut off, made a movement to the right in order to secure it across a swamp and creek, that covered the right of their works, but being met in their way by a part of the 2d grenadiers, who were soon after supported by the 71st regiment, and general Grant's left coming up, they suffered considerably: numbers of them, however, did get into the morass, where many were suffocated or drowned.

The force of the enemy, detached from the lines where general Putnam commanded, was not less, from the best accounts I have had, than ten thousand men, who were under the orders of major-general Sullivan, brigadier-generals lord Sterling and Udell. Their loss is computed to be about three thousand three hundred killed, wounded, prisoners, and drowned; with five field-pieces and one howitzer taken. A return of the prisoners is enclosed.

On the part of the king's troops, five officers, and sixty-six noncommissioned officers and rank and file killed; twelve officers, and two hundred and forty-five noncommissioned officers and rank and file wounded: one officer, and twenty grenadiers of the marines taken, by mistaking the enemy for the Hessians.

The Hessians had two privates killed; three officers, and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The wounds are in general very slight. Lieutenant-colonel Monckton is shot through the body, but there are the greatest hopes of his recovery.

The behaviour of both officers and soldiers, British and Hessians, was highly to their honour. More determined courage and steadiness in troops have never been experienced, or a greater ardour to distinguish themselves, as all those who have had an opportunity, have amply evinced by their actions.

In the evening of the 27th, the army encamped in front of the enemy's

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Captains,

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Adjutant,

Surgeons,

Volunteers,

Privates,

works. On the 28th, at night, broke ground six hundred yards distant from a redoubt upon their left; and on the 29th, at night, the rebels evacuated their entrenchments, and Redhook, with the utmost silence, and quitted Governor's Island the following evening, leaving their cannon, and a quantity of stores in all their works. At day-break, on the 30th, their flight was discovered, the picquets of the line took possession; and those most advanced reached the shore opposite to New York, as their rear guard was going over, and fired some shot among them.

The enemy is still in possession of the town and island of New York, in force, and making demonstration of opposing us in their works on both sides of King's Bridge.

The inhabitants of this island, many of whom had been forced into rebellion, have all submitted, and are ready to take the oaths of allegiance.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by major Cuyler, my first aid de camp, who, I trust, will be able to give you such further information as may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

William Howe.

P. S. I have omitted to take notice in its proper place, of a movement made by the king's ships, towards the town, on the 27th, at day-break, with a view of drawing off the attention of the enemy from our real design, which, I believe, effectually answered the intended purpose.

Return of the prisoners taken on Long Island, the 27th of August, 1776.

Generals.

Major-general Sullivan,	}	3
Brigadier-general Lord Sterling,		
Brigadier-general Udell,		
Colonels,		3
Lieutenant-colonels,		4
Majors,		3
Captains,		18
Lieutenants,		43
Ensigns,		11
Adjutant,		1
Surgeons,		2
Volunteers,		2
Privates,		1006

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Return of brass and iron ordnance taken from the enemy, in the engagement on the 27th of August, 1776, and found in their different redoubts on Long Island and Governor's Island.

Camp at Newtown, Sept. 3, 1776.

Brass ordnance taken in the engagement 27th August, 1776.

1 live and half inch howitzer; four six-pounders; 1 three-pounder. Total of brass ordnance, 6.

Iron ordnance found in the different forts on Long Island and Governor's Island.

6 thirty-two pounders; 1 twenty-four pounder; 4 eighteen pounders; 2 twelve pounders; 2 nine-pounders; 8 six-pounders; 3 three-pounders. Total of iron ordnance, 26.

A quantity of shot, shells, ammunition, entrenching tools, small arms, a number of long pikes, ammunition carts, and many other articles not at present ascertained.

W. Howe, commander in chief.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the British army, Aug. 27, 1776.

1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 53 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 11 serjeants, 3 drummers, 231 rank and file wounded; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 29 rank and file wounded.

William Howe.



General Washington's account of the battle of Trenton. Dated Headquarters, Newtown, December 26, 1776.

Sir,

I HAVE the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprize, which I had formed against a detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday morning. The evening of the 25th, I ordered the troops, intended for this purpose, to parade back of M^cKenny's ferry, that they might begin to pass as soon as it grew dark; imagining that we should be able to throw them all over, with the necessary artillery, by twelve o'clock, that we might easily arrive in Trenton by five o'clock in the morning, the distance being about nine miles; but the

quantity of ice made that night, impeded the passage of the boats so much, that it was three o'clock before the artillery could be got over, and near four when the troops took up the line of march. I formed my detachment into two divisions, one to march up the lower, or river road, the other by the upper, or Pennington road. As the divisions had nearly the same distance to march, I ordered each of them, immediately upon forcing the out-guards, to push directly into the town, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. The upper division arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock, and in three minutes after, I found from the fire in the lower road, that the other division had also got up. The out-guards made but a small opposition, though for their numbers they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire behind houses. We presently saw their main body formed, but from their motions they seemed undetermined how to act, being hard pressed by our troops, who had already got possession of half their artillery; they attempted to file off by a road on the right, leading to Princeton; but, perceiving their intention, I threw a body of troops in their way, which immediately checked them.

Finding from our disposition, that they were surrounded, and must inevitably be cut to pieces, if they made any further resistance, they agreed to lay down their arms. The number that submitted in this manner were twenty-three officers, and eight hundred and eighty-six men. Colonel Rohl, the commanding officer, and seven others, were found wounded in the town. I do not exactly know how many were killed, but I fancy about twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular stand. Our loss was very trifling indeed, only four officers and one or two privates wounded. I find the detachment of the enemy consisted of three regiments of Hessians, Andspach, Kniphausen, and Rohl, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light horse. Immediately upon the beginning of the attack, all those who were not killed, or taken, pushed directly down the road towards Borden-

ton. These would likewise have fallen into our hands, could my plan immediately have been carried into execution. General Erwine was to have crossed before day at Trenton Ferry, and taken possession of a bridge leading out of town; but the quantity of ice was so great, that though he did every thing in his power to effect it, he could not get over; and finding it impossible to embark his artillery, he was obliged to desist. I am fully confident, that could the troops under generals Erwine and Cadwalader have passed the river, I should have been able, with their assistance, to have driven the enemy from all their posts below Trenton; but the number I had with me, being inferior to those below me, and a strong battalion of light infantry being at Princeton above me, I thought it most prudent to return the same evening with the prisoners, and the artillery we had taken. We found no stores of any consequence in the town.

In justice to the officers and men, I must add, that their behaviour on this occasion reflects the highest honour upon them. The difficulty of passing the river in a very severe night, and their march through a violent storm of snow and hail, did not in the least abate their ardour; but when they came to charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pushing forward; and were I to give a preference to any particular corps, I should do injustice to the other. Capt. Baylor, my first aid de camp, will have the honour to deliver this to you; and from him you may be made acquainted with many other particulars. His spirited behaviour upon every occasion requires me to recommend him to your particular notice. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your's, &c. &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

Charles Thompson, esq.

Account of the battle of Trenton, published by congress, as received from an officer of distinction in the army. Dated Head Quarters, New-town, Bucks county, Dec. 27, 1776.

IT was determined some days ago that our army should pass over the Jersey at three different places, and

tack the enemy; accordingly, about two thousand five hundred men, and twenty brass field pieces, with his excellency general Washington at their head, and major general Sullivan and general Green in command of two divisions, passed over on the night of Christmas, and about three o'clock A. M. were on their march by two routes towards Trenton. The night was sleety and cold, and the road slippery; so that it was day break when we were two miles from Trenton, but happily the enemy were not apprised of our design, and our advanced party were on their guards at half a mile from town, where general Sullivan and general Green's division soon came into the same road.

Their guard gave our advanced party several smart fires as we drove them, but we soon got two field pieces at play, and several others in a small time, and one of our columns pushed down on the right, while the other advanced on the left into the town. The enemy, consisting of about fifteen hundred Hessians under colonel Rohl, formed and made some smart fires from their musquetry and six field pieces, but our people pressing from every quarter, drove them from their cannon. They retired towards a field behind a piece of woods up the creek from Trenton, and formed in two bodies, which I expected would have brought on a smart action from our troops, who had formed very near them; but at that instant, as I came in full view of them from the back of the woods with his excellency general Washington, an officer informed him that one party had grounded their arms and surrendered prisoners. The other soon followed their example, except a part which had got off in the hazy weather towards Princeton; their light-horse made off on our first approach. Too much praise cannot be given to the officers and men of every regiment, who seemed to vie with each other, and by their active, spirited behaviour, they soon put an honourable issue to this glorious day.

You may rejoice and be exceedingly glad at this intelligence of our success, which I hope and believe will prevent the enemy from passing the river.

We took three standards, six fine brass cannon, and near one thousand

stand of arms. They must have had about twenty or thirty killed.

I was immediately sent off with the prisoners to M'Cankey's ferry, and have got about seven hundred and fifty safe in town and a few miles from hence on this side the ferry, viz. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 4 captains, 9 lieutenants and 8 ensigns. We left colonel Rohl, the commandant, wounded, on his parole, and several other officers and wounded men at Trenton. We lost but two of our men that I can hear of, a few wounded, and one brave officer, captain Washington, who assisted in securing their artillery, shot in both hands. Indeed every officer and private behaved well, and it was a fortunate day to our arms, which I the more rejoice at, having had an active part in it. The success of this day will greatly animate our friends, and add fresh courage to our new army, which, when formed, will be sufficient to secure us from the depredations or insults of our enemy.

General Ewing's division could not pass at Trenton for the ice, which also impeded general Cadwallader passing over with all his cannon and the militia, though part of his troops were over, and if the whole could have passed, we should have swept the coast of Philadelphia.

Published by order of the congress,

Charles Thomson, secretary.

Return of prisoners taken at Trenton the 26th of December, 1776, by the army under the command of his excellency general Washington.

1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 2 surgeons, 62 serjeants, 20 drummers, 9 musicians, 23 officers' servants, 740 rank and file. 918 prisoners.

General Howe's account of the battle of Trenton, in a letter to lord George Germaine, dated New York, December 29, 1776.

ON the 25th instant, in the evening, a party of the enemy attacked an out guard from the post of Trenton, where col. Rohl commanded with three battalions of Hessians, fifty chasseurs, and twenty light dragoons, having with them six field pieces;

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which party was beaten back. On the succeeding morning at six o'clock, the rebels appeared in force with cannon, evidently intending to attack the post. Colonel Rohl, having received intelligence of their design, had the troops under arms, and detached his own regiment to support an advanced picket: this picket being forced, and falling back upon the regiment, threw it into some disorder, which occasioned them to retire upon the other battalions; no advantage being taken of this, they recovered themselves, and the whole formed in front of the village.

The rebels, without advancing, cannonaded them in this situation, and colonel Rohl moved forward to attack them, with the regiments of

Loßberg and Rohl; in which attack colonel Rohl was wounded, and the regiments were made prisoners. The rebels then advanced to the regiment of Knyphausen, and also made that corps prisoners.

Some few officers, and about two hundred men of the brigade, with the chassours, and a party of dragoons, retreated to colonel Donop's corps at Bordenton, six miles distant. Several officers were wounded, and about forty men killed and wounded.

This misfortune seems to have proceeded from col. Rohl's quitting his post, and advancing to the attack, instead of defending the village.

The rebels recrossed the river Delaware immediately, with the prisoners and cannon they had taken.

MR. CAREY,

FROM your laudable exertions to promote virtue, patriotism, and literary merit, I am induced to crave your acceptance of the following elegant Ode to EDUCATION, written by Mr. Samuel Knox, in seven stanzas, and spoken by an equal number of boys, alternately, on the conclusion of the elocutionary exercises of Bladenburgh grammar-school, under his judicious care, at an exhibition held the 18th and 19th of December, 1788. To your approbation and well-known impartiality I trust for an early admission of it in your excellent museum.

Bladenburg, February, 1789.

RICHARD PONSONBY.

I.

Spoken by master Thomas Dick.

— ego nec studium sine divite vena
Nec rude quid profit video ingenium. HOR.

AS nations rise, or infant-empires grow,
And heav'nly virtue guides their glorious course,
What blessings great from various channels flow!
Of ev'ry useful art the certain source,
Fair freedom now in shining vestments pure
Dispels the gloom, where GENIUS bury'd lay—
Through azure skies, which no dark clouds obscure
She leads the soul her own celestial way.
Sweet SCIENCE, too, now smiles with grace sublime
On each blest'd youth who shall her paths pursue;
Foster'd in this our transatlantic clime
New prospects open to her expanding view.
Too long enslav'd by some oppressive sway,
The mind, now hopeful, hails a happier day,
And bids fair EDUCATION's lucid train
O'er all the land with bright'ning influence reign.

II.

Spoken by master O. H. Williams, nephew to gen. Williams.

Ye happy states! who for your freedom fought,
In arms renown'd, let arts be now your care;
Enjoy the privilege your bravely bought,
And raise to learned fame, a temple fair.

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Let Maryland be foremost in the train
 To hail the muses to her happy shore—
 Let seats of science rise from ev'ry plain,
 And like the sun, her central radiance pour.
 To thee, great WASHINGTON! thy country's boast—
 To thee, whose soul, unshaken, bravely dar'd
 To banish curst oppression from our coast,
 Each grateful muse shall pay her best reward.
 The tender orphan, tutor'd by thy care,
 In academic shades* to thee shall rear
 A monument as lasting as thy fame—
 As dear to mem'ry, as thy deathless name.

III.

By master William Stewart.

O! be it thine, COLUMBIA FAIR, to shield
 And guard by wholesome laws, and dauntless breast,
 Whatever peace, or arts, or science yield,
 To render human life completely blest.
 Each virtue trace, each patriotic deed,
 That shone in Sparta, or in Athens flam'd;
 Mark, how Demosthenes could speak, or Agis bleed,
 Or learn great SOLON's laws, for wisdom fam'd.
 Let all thy youth their studious hours engage
 To weigh their justice, government, and laws;
 Reap morals from old PLATO's flow'ry page,
 And plead, with Attic grace, their country's cause.
 Read ancient Rome; and all the lore of Greece—
 From when old Jason stole the golden fleece,
 'Till when the Macedonian madman dies,
 See how their states could sink, or bravely rise.

IV.

By master John Hewitt.

Let Xerxes' fate, and Cæsar's bloody death,
 Crush vile ambition's arbitrary sway;
 Observe, the Godlike CATO's steady path
 To glory leads a more illustrious way;
 Whose noble soul, unshaken, bravely dar'd
 Alone to stem corruption's pow'rful tide,
 Each threaten'd danger with his country shar'd,
 And with expiring freedom boldly died.
 Let his example fire each glowing breast
 In virtue's sternest course to persevere;
 The soul of each enslaving view divest
 And all thy rigid rules, fair Altræa! revere.
 To this great end allure the guiltless young
 With all the flow'rs that flow'd from Tully's tongue;
 Let worth like this, their tender minds inspire
 And ev'ry age its Catos may admire.

V.

By mr. Thomas Contee Bowie.

Ye gen'rous youth! who scan sweet Maro's verse,
 Beneath each academic grove retir'd;
 Or HOMER's lofty images rehearse,
 With his enthusiastic flame inspir'd—

NOTE.

* Alluding to his excellency's bounteous annuity for the education of poor children in the Alexandria academy.

See, round the rose he lightly moves,
 And wantons in the sun,
 His little life in joy improves,
 And lives, before 'tis gone.

From this instinctive wisdom, learn
 The present hour to prize;
 Nor leave to-day's supreme concern,
 'Till morrow's morn arise.

Say, loveliest fair, canst thou divine
 That morrow's hidden doom?
 Know'st thou, if cloudless skies will shine,
 Or heaven be wrapp'd in gloom.

Fond man, the trifle of a day,
 Enjoys the morning light,
 Nor knows, his momentary play
 Must end, before 'tis night.

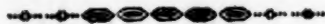
The present joys are all we claim,
 The past are in the tomb;
 And, like the poet's dream of fame,
 The future never come.

No longer then, fair maid, delay
 The promis'd scenes of bliss;
 Nor idly give another day,
 The joys assign'd to this.

If then my breast can soothe thy care,
 'Twill now that care allay;
 If joy this hand can yield, my fair,
 'Twill yield that joy to day.

Quit then, oh quit! thou lovely maid,
 Thy balshful, virgin pride;
 To-day, the happy plot be laid,
 The bands, to-morrow, tied!

The purest joys shall be our own,
 That e'er to man were giv'n;
 And those bright scenes, on earth begun,
 Shall brighter shine in heav'n.



*An address to his excellency George Washington, esq. on the anniversary of
 his birth-day, anno 1788.*

RETURN'D from conquest and from glorious toils,
 From armies captur'd, and unnumber'd spoils;
 From the blest talk—to point our way to fame—
 And 'midst the nations raise our drooping name:
 These jarring states to bind in union's band;
 And fix fair freedom in our favour'd land;
 To bid our ships new seas and climes explore,
 And meet a welcome from each distant shore—
 And form a system, which at once imparts
 Joy to the merchants' and the farmers' hearts,

Illustrious hero, may you live to see,
This new republic long continue free;
Union and peace o'er this great empire spread,
And baleful discord veil her ghastly head.

COLUMBUS.

Foreign intelligence.

Constantinople, Oct. 29.

A CERTAIN number of christians' heads and ears, mostly those of Austrians, are exposed at the gates of the seraglio daily. The prisoners are treated rigorously, and most of them sent up the country into slavery. To judge of this treatment one need only read the following extract from a letter of lieutenant Geitz, who is prisoner at Constantinople, dated the 25th of June last.

"They transported me in ten days from the Confines of Sinai (near the defile of Temesch) to Constantinople. We went with incredible swiftness, and my horse fell twice; but I could not fall off myself, as we were placed on large pack-saddles, with our hands tied behind us, and our feet fallen under our horses' bellies. They likewise treated us every where we came, in the most cruel manner, and we every moment found we were in the hands of barbarians. On the 12th of April we arrived at Constantinople. They tied twelve christians' heads round my neck, and in that manner made me pass through the city, amidst the shouting and insults of the populace, the women even spitting in our faces. GEITZ."

On the 29th there arrived here one hundred and fifty Austrian prisoners, a number of colours, and thirty waggon-filles filled with sabres, cuirasses, fusils, &c. These Austrian spoils were taken in the action which preceded the capture of the city of Mehadia. The Ottomans likewise took ten pieces of cannon, which they have kept in the camp.

Warsaw, Dec. 31.

A report is circulated since morning, that the emperor had accepted of the mediation of the court of Berlin towards bringing about a peace; nevertheless we learn, that the greatest preparations are making at Constantinople for another campaign, and

that the porte insists upon the repossession of the Crimea, at least that it shall be under the independent government of a prince of the Mahometan religion.

Versailles, January 6.

The king having heard the report made to his council by the ministers of his finances, relative to the next convocation of the *etats generaux*, his majesty has adopted the principles and views thereof, and has ordered as follows:

1st. That the deputies of the next *etats generaux*, shall be at least in number one thousand.

2d. That this number shall be formed, as nearly as possible, in proportion to the population and taxes of each bailiave.

3d. That the number of deputies of the *tiers etat* shall be equal to those of the other two orders united; and that this proportion shall be ordained by the letters of convocation.

4th. That these preliminary decisions shall serve as a basis to the necessary labours, for preparing, without delay, the letters of convocation, as well as the other dispositions, which are to accompany them.

Lastly. That the report made to his majesty shall be printed at the foot of the present result.

Done at Versailles, the king being in his council, the 27th day of December, 1788.

London, January 1.

A letter from Venice, dated Dec. 18, says "A Spahi, arrived in a French frigate from Constantinople, with dispatches from the Ottoman Divan to the doge and senate, has had audience twice; and we now hear, that the differences with the Porte will be entirely made up; in consequence of which, our Squadron will be recalled from the Archipelago. It is said the grand seignior purchases this, by the distribution of a few purses among some members of the government."

Jan. 3. We are given to under-

stand from the most respectable authority, that the present administration will resign their places, as soon as the regency bill, and that for the guardianship of the king's person, have passed both houses of parliament. A new administration will then be immediately formed.

Jan. 11. A letter from Berlin says, "the convention with the court of London, which had for its object the restoring of peace in the north, is wholly at a stand, from the deranged state of the British government. Our letters from the envoy in England, are dated the 2d instant, at which time affairs were not in a condition to come to a speedy conclusion; every day more welcome accounts are expected."

Jan. 16. In a publication, which has lately made its appearance in Germany, and which has strong marks of authenticity, the loss of the imperialists during the last campaign is rated at ninety-five thousand men.

The obsequies of the late Spanish monarch, Charles the third, as celebrated in the Spanish ambassador's chapel, in York-street, St. James's, on Wednesday last, exhibited the most awful and striking scene of serious solemnity we can recollect. The walls, from the ceiling to the ground, the pillars and balustrade of the galleries, were hung with black. In the middle of the chapel was erected a pompous canopy of state, under which lay a bier, covered with black velvet. A crown, made after the form of that worn by the Spanish monarchs, was placed at the foot of the bier; and at its head a large achievement or escutcheon, on which were painted the arms of Spain. A numerous variety of smaller escutcheons were hung around the chapel, blazoned with the arms of the different kingdoms and provinces to which Spain has laid claim since the foundation of that monarchy, and adorned with emblems allusive to the revolutions it underwent, from its conquest by the Goths, down to our days. The glittering escutcheons, interchangeably mixed with blazing wax tapers, darting their light on the sable hangings, in a place from which, in open day, the rays of the sun were excluded, gave the chapel the appearance of a sumptuous mausoleum, where burning lamps surround the

tombs of breathless monarchs, or rather of a starry firmament on a dark and serene night.

Jan. 23. A letter from Brussels says, "Measures of a very important nature are preparing in Hainaut and Brabant. The emperor is determined to bring the inhabitants under subjection. The old form of government is to be suspended, and military law to be proclaimed throughout both counties on the 26th instant."

The troubles in Brittany increase. The clergy, and with them the noblesse, have sworn not to innovate their laws—of course, not to admit the tiers etat into the assembly of the states.

A letter from Paris, dated Jan. 6, says, "The revolution is almost completed. Mr. Neckar's report, tho' contrary to the majority of the notables, has been unanimously adopted by the king and his council. The states general will meet the 27th of April. They are to be composed of about one thousand deputies, five hundred of which will be commoners. Every district is to have an equal representation, fairly elected by the inhabitants. Our great patriotic parliaments keep themselves snug at home: they dare not hold up their heads. The people, and every man of sense and justice are with the king. May he live to reap the fruits of his victory."

"We are now to expect a general consolidation of the kingdom, an equal and easy land tax, the uniformity of custom-houses, and liberty of conscience. We shall try to render these new dishes palatable to our good friends, the parliaments."

Jan. 31. The emperor's war with the Turks, that unnecessary war, demands supplies.

The hope of those supplies was in Flanders; but between any hope and its accomplishment, the interval is vast. The Flemings, very properly, will not furnish a half schelling.

The emperor, therefore, has gone all lengths. He has demanded additional subsidies;—he has revoked the indemnity granted last year; he has reinforced Brussels, and other garrisons; and threatens to levy by force.

The spirit of party is again raising its head in Utrecht. The states have represented to their high mightinesses

that they cannot any longer pay their quota towards maintaining the Mecklenburg companies—but they have been answered, that if they persist in such resolution, they will have some troops sent among them; and the stadtholder has been requested to second this representation, and to use his good offices that the lords of Utrecht may settle the matter.

It is a fact, that American wheat is at this time selling in the Spanish markets at the high rate of eight shillings sterling the bushel. This is very extraordinary, as this grain will grow in almost any part of the world; it grows well not only in temperate climates, but in hot and cold ones; both Chili and Peru produce as large crops as any part of the world.

Jan. 31. The court of Lisbon have at length concluded their long depending treaty of commerce with the American states, by virtue of which the Portuguese are to take corn, &c. from the American vessels, for which the Americans are to receive the produce of Portugal in exchange; the Portuguese having restricted, by a particular article of the treaty, the American vessels from carrying any of the gold or silver current coin out of the kingdom of Portugal, as gold and silver in bars, or in any other shape than that of plate, in services, utensils, wearables and jewelry, &c. on pain of confiscation of the ships, cargo, &c. where such gold and silver may be discovered; as also the master and officers of the ships to be imprisoned in such cases, to answer before a tribunal at Lisbon or Oporto, the charges for any such breach of the treaty. Thus America is placed under greater restrictions than any other nations. A plain proof of the Portuguese jealousy.

Feb. 1. The number of ships arrived at Lisbon, in the course of 1783, is as follows:

Portuguese	283	Ragufans	6
English	351	Hamburgers	5
French	174	Imperial	3
Hollanders	89	Bremeners	3
Danish	57	Prussian	1
Swedes	34	Russian	1
Spanish	31	Dantzicker	1
American	59	—	—
Venetian	11	Total	1109

Feb. 3. The states of Dauphiny (one of those provinces which acced-

ed to the government of France, on condition of preserving all their ancient laws, customs, and privileges) have agreed to renounce those rights, subject to the general administration of the kingdom, and send members to the states general, provided, however,

That the deputies of the third estate shall deliberate in one common chamber with the nobles and clergy; and not in a separate class.

That their speaker shall be admitted to deliver their opinions standing, and not as in the ancient assemblies, on his knees.

That the states general shall meet at stated periods, every two or three years, and that no tax shall be granted for any longer term than until the next meeting of the states.

That the liberty of the subject shall be secured against the abuses of the lettres de cachet.

That the press shall be free.

That a reform shall be made in the courts of justice, and the execution of the laws, in all matters either civil or criminal.

These conditions seem to meet the ideas of the nation in general, and as is expected the other privileged provinces will adopt them, and the states will be assembled as speedily as possible. At all events, the clerks are now employed in preparing the letters of convocation, and they will be dispatched to the different counties, towns, &c. in a few days.

A letter from Lemberg, dated December 27, says, The cold is so severe, that thirty seven persons have been frozen to death in our environs within three days.

Feb. 4. The corporation of the city of London will again move an address to the prince of Wales, not to change the faithful, able, and successful servants of the public, from time in the beginning of next week; and, if it be considered, that thirty-four of those who opposed the last motion, did so solely on the ground of its being premature, no one can doubt of the address being carried with what is called a high hand.

It is with the highest pleasure we assure the public, that his majesty has been for the last two days in a more composed state, and for a longer con-

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tinuance than since the commencement of his malady. These symptoms have afforded the greatest consolation to the royal family. During the long interview with the queen on Saturday last, his majesty behaved with the greatest propriety and calmness, and the meeting appeared to have every desired effect.

Feb. 7. The following ships of the line are ordered to be built in his majesty's dock yards, the keels of which will be laid early in the spring, viz.

Ville de Paris, 110 guns,	Chatham,
Dreadnought, 98	Portsmouth,
Foudroyant, 80	Plymouth,
Centaur, 74	Woolwich,
Mars, 74	Deptford,
Fairy sloop, 16	Portsmouth,
Rattlesnake, 16	Chatham,
Martin, 16	Woolwich,
Porcupine, 16	Plymouth,
Serpent, 16	ditto.

The new king of Spain is making a thorough reform in his household, and likewise in all his expenses. Eighteen places have been suppressed in the kitchen, and a number of others in several departments. They call these people at Madrid, state rats, and say with some degree of naivete, that England is the proper place for them to flourish in.

It is the opinion of the attending faculty, and others about the royal person, that the signs of returning health grow daily more strong.

The czarina has written with her own hand a letter of four pages to the emperor, in which she communicates to him all the particulars of the capture of Oczakow. She has ordered a hundred thousand roubles to be distributed among the troops, who were concerned in taking that fortress, and has presented prince Poteinkin with a sword set with brilliants, and with the insignia of the first order of St. George.

A very extraordinary contract is now going on with the board of admiralty. A Mr. Robertson, at Greenock, in Scotland, who has a large house at Halifax, in America, has offered singly to supply with timber the whole navy of Great Britain.

A letter from Naples, dated December 30, says, "The Algerines still infest our seas, and have lately made some valuable captures, amongst which

we are informed is a French corvette from Marseilles to a market, three hundred quintals burden, with a rich cargo, likewise two ships loaded with corn, dried fish and oil, bound to Civita Vecchia; the two latter were taken by a corsair of thirty-six guns, in sight of one of the pope's men of war, and what is more remarkable, the infidels had the insolence to hoist a flag of defiance during her to combat."

A letter from Cadiz, dated January 3, says, "The last accounts from Barbary mention, that the dey of Algiers has declared war against Denmark; they likewise mention that the quarrel between the emperor of Morocco and the dey is made up; it seems the emperor was obliged to pay a large sum of money down, besides all the expenses the dey was put to on account of the rupture."

The king of France has given up, in favour of liberty, two of the most dangerous prerogatives of the crown, namely, *lettres de cachet*, and the power of raising a revenue without the consent of the states. No *lettres de cachet* (or general warrants) are in future to be issued without special reasons, and these reasons are to be set forth in the warrant, and the legality to be ascertained and tried by the judges.

Feb. 16. Circular letters have been sent from the secretaries of state, to the different establishments, to announce the promising hopes of the king's recovery.

Feb. 17. Saturday arrived the mail from Flanders, but it brings no confirmation, nor even an account of the re-capture of Oczakow. The report was founded on an extract of a letter from Bareuth, January 6, which states that the Russians, having left a very small garrison to protect Oczakow, (their principal force having retired to Elizabeth Gorod) the inhabitants and prisoners rose, and retook the place, after cutting the Russians to pieces.

A skirmish has happened at Rennes in Briannay, between the noblesse and the burghers, in which much blood was spilt, and three persons of distinction were killed on the spot. This skirmish was occasioned by some members of the two first orders dis-

resting the marchauffe to disperse the populace, who were waiting to see them come out of the court house.

The siege of Oczakow produced one of the severest engagements that modern history can record; and though the Russians were successful, it may be said in the words of Shakespeare, to have been among those victories,

"For which the conquerors mourn'd
so many fell."

The Russian troops consisted of twenty-five thousand, of which nearly fourteen thousand were destroyed.

The besieged most obstinately disputed the attack, and of the fourteen thousand in the town, ten thousand were slain.

It is impossible to describe the horror and agony that prevailed on both sides, the next morning, when the numbers of the dead were seen.

Feb. 18. The proceedings of yesterday in the house of lords fully demonstrate the authenticity of all our communications respecting his majesty's progressive recovery, and it is from the same unquestionable authority we now pronounce, that in a few days, a public proclamation will announce the restoration of the royal capacity for the executive government.

This morning early, a messenger was sent off from the secretary of state's office, to the marquis of Buckingham, lord lieutenant of Ireland, with instructions for immediately conveying to the parliament of that kingdom the happy event that has taken place in the restoration of his majesty's health.

Feb. 26. Since the king's happy recovery, business of all kinds in the several departments of office goes on with more spirit, from the best of all possible reasons, because with more certainty of the persons employed in business continuing in office. Hence the documents relative to the slave trade, the sale of the crown lands, &c. &c. are in a fair train of conclusion.

There appears to be this morning an entire cessation of his majesty's illness.

Feb. 27. His majesty continues free from complaint.

Feb. 28. By his majesty's command the physicians' report is to be discontinued from this day.

American intelligence.

Kingston, March 7, 1789.

By a letter from St. Kitt's, dated the 13th ult. information is received that the present year's harvest of sugar, in that island, which was some time ago expected to yield about sixteen thousand hogheads, will not produce above one fourth part of that quantity, owing to the dismal ravages made among the canes by a most pernicious insect, called the borer.

Antigua, and most of the windward islands, have suffered materially, by the ravages of the borer; the former, it is thought, will not make more than twelve thousand hogheads of sugar. This fatal insect perforates the cane; and, by working downwards, destroys the root. It is by no means a stranger to the windward islands; having for many years past proved exceedingly detrimental to the industrious planter. It most commonly appears in dry weather, and will desolate a considerable tract of cane-land, in the course of a few days.

Boston, March 25.

Wednesday last the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, was celebrated in the Roman catholic church, upon which occasion a great concourse of people assembled, and at which time the burial performance on the death of miss Mary Lob, aged nine years, who departed this life last Sunday, was performed, after solemn vespers, a discourse and songs of litaney, and the benediction of the holy host; the functions of the burial were commenced with the usual prayers, psalms, &c. for a young person that had not lost her innocency. The coffin was painted white, and crowned with flowers and scented herbs; the chapel was beautifully illuminated, round the corpse; after which the corpse was carried to the north burying ground, accompanied by the relations, the abbe, and the clergy of the catholic church.

Apr. 1. We have the pleasure to inform the public, from the authority of the comptroller-general's books, that the increase of trade, throughout the commonwealth, for the three last years, has been in a ratio beyond the expectations of the most sanguine, antecedent to this period.—The aggregate ex-

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ports of the state in the year 1787, were nearly seven hundred thousand pounds currency, which was almost as much as they were in any year before the revolution—A complete account of our exports of '88, is not yet collected—we are induced to believe, however, that they are far greater than they were in the preceding year—in this town, the augmentation is very great, though we have reason to suppose, that it by no means exceeds the proportion of other seaports in the commonwealth—In 1787, our total exports from the port of Boston, were computed to be about three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, our imports about three hundred and ninety thousand pounds. The balance against the town twenty thousand pounds. In 1788, our exports were about four hundred and sixty thousand pounds, our imports about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Balance in our favour ten thousand pounds. The increase of trade, therefore, has been nearly a quarter, and the balance upon the whole in favour of the town; we presume that it will appear much more so in favour of the commonwealth, when the necessary accounts are collected, and the proper calculations made—If this has been the case, under all the disadvantages resulting from a want of power in the federal head, to regulate our commercial transactions, what may we not expect from a wise administration of a government, invested not only with the powers necessary for these important purposes, but for the peace, union, and safety, of the whole continent?

April 9. Monday last, agreeably to notification, the inhabitants of this town assembled at Faneuil-Hall, for the purpose of giving in their votes for governor and lieutenant governor, for the ensuing year. On closing the poll, it appeared that the numbers of votes given in, were as follow:

For governor.

His excell. J. Hancock, esq. 1265

Hon. James Bowdoin, esq. 369

For lieutenant governor.

Hon. Samuel Adams, esq. 1219

His honour general Lincoln, 617

Salem, April 7.

A letter from Marietta says, "the treaty is ended to the entire satisfac-

tion of all concerned. On this occasion, an elegant entertainment was provided. The Indian chiefs behaved with the greatest decorum throughout the day. After dinner, we were served with good wine; and Cornplanter, one of the first chiefs of the Five Nations, and a very great warrior, took up his glass, and said, "I thank the Great Spirit for this opportunity of smoking the pipe of friendship and love. May we plant our own vines—be the fathers of our own children—and maintain them."

"The Indians continue to declare that they have no objection to our settlement, and that we are a people much more acceptable to them, than any settlers with whom they have ever before been acquainted. I believe they feel strongly attached to us, and see it to be for their interest to cultivate our friendship."

"The progress of the settlement is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are faster than we can possibly provide convenient coverings. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles, as any I have ever seen in the old states. I mention this, to shew the progress of society in this new world, where I believe we shall vie with, if not excel, the old states, in every accomplishment, necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

April 14. It is an agreeable circumstance, that at the court of general sessions of the peace held at Ipswich on Tuesday last, no bill was found by the grand jury against any person, and no criminal case came before the court.

New York, March 26.

Advices from the Spanish colony of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, inform us, that governor Don Mero has granted permission to the inhabitants of the western counties of North Carolina, that border on that river, to trade thereon, even down to New Orleans.

April 5. A letter from Edenton, (N. C.) dated Feb. 17, says, "Scarcely a person within an hundred miles of the sea is opposed to the new federal government. The oppo-

sition arises entirely from the people in the back settlements. The governor is a staunch federalist, and has the success of the new government much at heart. I suppose you need not be reminded—that, at the last session of the assembly, a resolution passed for the election of members to meet in convention at Fayetteville, next November, for the purpose of again deliberating on the federal government. The inhabitants are apprehensive that the proceedings of the new congress will militate against the interests of this state, except it joins the union, which apprehensions, I doubt not, will have a happy tendency to promote an union with the other states."

April 25. On Thursday about two o'clock, arrived in town, the most illustrious George Washington, president of the united states. His excellency slept at Woodbridge on Wednesday night, and on Thursday morning arrived at Mr. Boudinot's, where he breakfasted, along with the gentlemen composing the committee, appointed by congress, &c. &c. About twelve o'clock he was conducted on board of the barge prepared for his reception, the beauty of which met with his highest approbation; he was rowed across the bay by thirteen skilful pilots, Thomas Randall, esq. acting as cockswain. His excellency's barge was accompanied by a barge containing the heads of the great departments of the united states, viz. the honourable board of treasury, the minister for foreign affairs, and the secretary at war.

There never, perhaps, was a scene in which more universal pleasure appeared than on his approaching the battery and Murray's wharf. The Spanish packet, which lay with her colours only displayed to salute him as he passed, on firing of a gun, displayed, in a moment, every flag known in foreign nations. The ship *North Carolina*, belonging to Arnold H. Dohrman, esq. was decorated in like manner, and all the vessels in the harbour had their flags flying. On the barge's passing the packet, she fired a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by the same number from the battery. After which she advanced to the stairs erected and decorated at the bottom of Wall-street, for his

excellency's reception. His landing, without doubt, was beyond description; universal joy diffused itself through every order of the beholders; there was no contest in rank—the only thing in which they tried to succeed, was, who could appear the most pleased. It was remarked of a venerable old gentleman, nigh the place of landing, that, on the approach of the barge, he expressed himself nearly as follows: "I beheld him when he commanded the American army; I saw him at the conclusion of the peace, retiring to his primeval habitation; and now I behold him returning to take the chair of presidency. I have now no other wish, but that he may die as he lived, *the beloved of his country.*"

Charleston (S. C.) March 27.

The foreign debt of this state amounts to nearly one hundred thousand pounds, which, it is calculated, may be entirely extinguished in ten years, from the productive funds now appropriated by law, for that purpose. Only one gentleman, now in this city, attorney for two foreign creditors, whose demands are about fifteen thousand pounds, has agreed to wait ten years, but as this state pays a very high interest for money, and a certain transfer can be made of the principal, the securities will, without doubt, find a ready sale at the exchange of Amsterdam, whenever the instrument for paying principal and interest is known there.

Richmond, April 8.

A letter from Danville, dated March 9, 1789, says, "you are doubtless informed of a treaty having taken place between the commissioners from congress and the several northern tribes of Indians. We have, notwithstanding, experienced no good effects from it; they have made several incursions on our frontiers since the treaty, and stolen a number of horses; a few days past, a party was followed by colonel Johnson, who, after a pursuit of above forty miles, overtook them, and killed one of the Indians, wounded several, and regained near thirty horses; by the dress, &c. they appeared to be some of those who were in friendship with the late settlers on the northwest side of the Ohio.

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"The Indians have committed several murders at the settlement of Cumberland lately, and the inhabitants there seem fearful of the hostile intention of the southern nations."

George town, April 16.

A letter from New Orleans, dated Feb. 16, 1789, says, "an unfortunate event has lately taken place in this part of the world, which probably may break the late established harmony between the Spaniards and our states. You have, no doubt, been informed of the port of New Orleans being opened to our countrymen settled on the western waters; in consequence of which, the Mississippi has been covered with fleets of boats from Cumberland, Kentucke, &c. floating down great quantities of provision, flour, plank, &c. which, on account of the distressed situation the inhabitants were reduced to, by the late fire, have been disposed of to great advantage."

"The last transport (as we are informed here) arrived from Cumberland settlements, at the Natches*, about six weeks ago, owned by colonel Armstrong, consisting of six large boats, manned by thirty hands. The garrison standing in need of provisions, though not willing to pay the price which was demanded, the commandant refused to grant them the necessary passport† to proceed to New-Orleans; our people, however, disposed of their cargoes to some Americans settled at the Natches, and were on their return home, when the commandant of the fort sent an officer with fifty Spanish soldiers after them, to arrest colonel Armstrong, and bring him to the fort: the colonel refused to obey the order of the Spanish commandant: told the officer, that, as an American, and within the lines of the territory of the united states, he was subject to no controul of any power on the face of the earth, except that of the laws of

his country; he begged the officer to desist from any act of violence, as such would be accompanied with the most serious and fatal consequences.

"The officer still persisting to execute his orders, and one of the Spanish soldiers imprudently presenting his musket at the colonel's breast, the Americans took to their rifles, the Spaniards firing first. An engagement followed; and the twenty-four Cumberlanders made the Spaniards take to their heels, leaving five killed and twelve wounded on the field of battle; the officer being amongst the dead."

"This affair has made a great noise in this place, and exposes those few of our countrymen now residing here, to the malice of the Spaniards; they have given our countrymen the name of Blanco Savago‡, owing to some of colonel Armstrong's men handling the tomahawk pretty freely in the late engagement."

Baltimore, April 21.

The president of the united states arrived in this place on his way to congress, on Friday afternoon, the 17th instant, with Charles Thomson, esq. and colonel Humphries. This great man was met some miles from town, by a large body of respectable citizens on horseback, and conducted under a discharge of cannon, to mr. Grant's tavern, through crowds of admiring spectators. At six o'clock, a committee, chosen in consequence of a late notification, to adjust the preliminaries for his reception, waited upon him with an address. A great number of the citizens were presented to him, and very graciously received. Having arrived too late for a public dinner, he accepted an invitation to supper, from which he retired a little after ten o'clock. The next morning he was in his carriage at half past five o'clock, when he left town, under a discharge of cannon, and attended as on his entrance, by a body of the citizens on horseback. These gentlemen accompanied him seven miles, when, alighting from his carriage, he would not permit them to proceed any further; but took leave of them, after thank-

NOTES.

* A fort still in possession of the Spaniards on the Mississippi, within the limits of Georgia.

† No American boat is permitted to go to New-Orleans, without entering at the fort, and producing a passport.

NOTE.

‡ White savage.

ing them in an affectionate obliging manner for their politeness. We shall only add on this occasion, that those who had often seen him before, and those who never had, were equally anxious to see him. Such is the rare impression excited by his uncommon character and virtues.

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Brief sketch of the most interesting of the proceedings of congress.

Monday, April 6, 1789.

A QUORUM of both houses met, and on counting the votes for president and vice president, they appeared to be

For president :

His excell. gen. Washington 69

For vice president :

Hon. John Adams 34

John Jay 9

R. R. Hanson 6

John Rutledge 6

John Hancock 4

George Clinton 3

Samuel Huntington 2

John Milton 2

James Armstrong 1

Edward Telfair 1

Benjamin Lincoln 1

Upon which his excellency George Washington, esq. was announced president, and the honourable John Adams, esq. vice president of the united states. This important business being completed, the legislature of the united states, is thus arranged, viz.

George Washington, president.

John Adams, vice president.

Senators.

New Hampshire. John Langdon and Paine Wingate.

Massachusetts. Caleb Strong and Tristram Dalton.

Connecticut. William S. Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth.

New Jersey. William Paterson and John Elmer.

Pennsylvania. Robert Morris and William Maclay.

Delaware. George Reed and Richard Bassett.

Maryland. Charles Carroll and John Henry.

Virginia. Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson.

South Carolina. Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard.

Georgia. William Few and — Gun.

Representatives.

New Hampshire. Benjamin West, S. Livermore, and Nicholas Gilman.
Massachusetts. Fisher Ames, Geo. Partridge, George Thacher, George Leonard, Elbridge Gerry, Benjamin Goodhue, Jonathan Grout.

Connecticut. Jonathan Sturges, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Huntington, Jonathan Trumbull, Jeremiah Wadsworth.

New York. John Lawrence, Egbert Benson, William Floyd, John Hathorn, Peter Sylvester, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer.

New Jersey. Elias Boudinot, James Schureman, Thomas Sinnickson, Lambert Cadwallader.

Pennsylvania. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Henry Wynkoop, Thomas Hartley, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Peter Muhlenberg, Daniel Heister, Thomas Scott.

Delaware. John Vining.

Maryland. Joshua Seney, Daniel Carroll, Benj. Contee, George Gale, William Smith, Michael J. Stone.

Virginia. James Madison, Josiah Parker, Richard B. Lee, Theodorick Bland, Isaac Coles, Alex. White, John Page, Andrew Moore, Samuel Griffin.

South Carolina. General Sumpter, Edanus Burke, Thomas T. Tucker, D. Huger, William Smith.

Georgia. Abraham Baldwin, James Jackson, George Matthews.

April 8.

HOUSE in COMMITTEE on the state of the UNION.

Mr. Madison, after a few introductory observations on the great subjects of finance, and the deficiencies of the federal treasury, suggested the necessity of immediately adopting some measures upon the subject of national revenue. With this object in view, he produced a resolve, specifying certain articles upon which an impost was proposed to be laid. The plan was similar to that recommended by congress in 1783—

The articles enumerated in this resolve were spiritous liquors—wines—teas—pepper—sugars—cocoa—and coffee. A tonnage duty was also proposed in it. Adjourned.

April 9.

HOUSE in COMMITTEE on the state of the UNION.

Mr. Lawrence observed, that the immediate necessity of a public revenue, to answer the exigencies of the union, was universally acknowledged, and the mode of raising it by impost was generally supposed to be the best; but as the resolve, at present proposed, was designed as a temporary measure, and, as it was requisite that some system should be speedily adopted, so as to embrace the advantages that would result from duting the spring importations, it appeared to him the most eligible plan to adopt a general idea with respect to impost, and lay a *præcentum*, *ad valorem*, on articles indiscriminately, in preference to specifying particulars at various rates.

Mr. Fitzsimons differed widely from the honourable gentleman from New York, respecting the mode of obtaining revenue. He conceived that if every particular article was enumerated and charged, the amount could be more certainly relied on, the collection insured, and the less left to the discretion of the officers employed in the business. He had also in contemplation to encourage domestic manufactures by protecting duties—wherefore he should move to amend the proposition made by Mr. Madison yesterday, by adding an additional number of articles, viz.

Beer, porter, beef, pork, butter, candles of tallow, wax, and spermaceti, cheese, soap, cyder, boots, unwrought steel, cables, tarred cordage, and untarred do. twine, malt, nails, spikes, salt, manufactured tobacco, snuff, blank books, writing, printing, and wrapping paper, pasteboard, cabinet ware, leather, hats, millenary, callings of iron or steel, roll and plate iron, leather tanned, and all manufactured do. shoes, slippers, and galloshoes, coaches, chariots, chaises, sofas, and all four and two wheel carriages, nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, raisins, figs, currants, and almonds.

Col. White was of opinion, that enumerating these articles would make the system too complex, and occasion so much delay, that more revenue might be lost by procrastination, than could be gained by additional duties, as the spring importation was daily escaping them.

Mr. Tucker wished the subject to be delayed, until a fuller representa-

tion took place in congress, because it was of great importance to have the thing well done—he enforced the necessity of due deliberation, by a variety of arguments, especially by stating the several interests of the eastern, middle, and southern states, in the article of tonnage—he concluded by declaring, he should call for a division of the house, if the gentleman persisted in pressing the measure forward at this time.

Mr. Hartley replied to Mr. Tucker, and expressed a strong desire to preserve unanimity; he stated that the committee could not conceive themselves bound to support the amendment, by voting for it on this occasion. No, it was only intended to give gentlemen an opportunity of considering the subject more maturely: the business would present itself in several shapes before them, before it was finally settled upon, and might until then be open for discussion.

Mr. Madison said that with respect to the resolve before the committee, his design was to have proposed a temporary system; he however perceived gentlemen were much divided—he conceived that very powerful motives existed, to induce the adoption of a plan that should come into immediate operation, and agreed with Mr. Fitzsimons, that to lay specific duties, on particular articles, was the most eligible mode of raising an impost. He remarked that some of the articles proposed, had reference to the encouragement of our own manufactures. How far the committee was prepared to determine upon this part of the business, he could not say, but he considered it as a business that ought to be deferred for the present.

Mr. Boudinot asked why the article of glass was not included, as there are several manufactories of that article already established in this country?

Adjourned.

Friday, April 10.

The house met and adjourned without doing business.

Saturday, April 11.

A petition from the tradesmen, manufacturers, and others, of the town of Baltimore, was presented by Mr. Smith, and referred to the committee of the whole house.

The house in committee on the state of the union.

Mr. Goodhue moved, that an addition to the list of articles already enumerated in the resolve, might be made by the following, viz. anchors, wool-cards, wrought tin ware, limes, and lemons—which was done.

Colonel Bland moved, that the sense of the committee should be taken whether the system should be temporary or permanent.

Mr. Thatcher observed, that it was impossible to determine with accuracy, as to the duration of a system, before it was formed—when once completed, the house could give as long or as short a period for operation, as should appear most eligible. Should the system appear to be good, no person would wish it a temporary existence: should it not prove salutary, no assigned date for its termination would warrant its being continued beyond experience of its beneficial effects. He was therefore for leaving the period to an after consideration.

Mr. Boudinot was in favour of a temporary system; as otherwise the bill to be framed must go to making provision for the collection of the duties, as also to a continental judicial system, an object of such magnitude as would preclude any decisive measures till such time as will entirely disappoint all our expectations of the immediate advantages that would result from a temporary system, which, he observed, might be matured in two or three days.

Mr. Madison, Mr. Lee, and other gentlemen, spoke upon the motion, which was finally withdrawn.

Mr. Madison then brought forward a motion to this effect—that it is the opinion of this committee, that a committee of the house ought to be appointed to prepare a draught of a bill to regulate the collection of duties on imports and tonnage within the united states. This motion was adopted, and the committee appointed, consisting of a member from each state.

MONDAY, April 13, 1789.

Mr. Burke presented a petition from the shipwrights of South Carolina, praying the attention of congress to their situation, and that a navigation act might be passed in favour

of American vessels—this was referred to a committee of the whole.

TUESDAY, April 14, 1789.

THE house in committee on the state of the union.

Mr. Bland, after adverting to a temporary system, as the most eligible, enforced the idea upon the impropriety of taxing several articles in the resolve which were absolutely essential to the tools made use of by our manufacturers; and in order that congress might have time, properly to discriminate between the articles, and form a complete and permanent system, he introduced a motion to this effect, that congress pass a law, authorizing and establishing the collection of import through the states, agreeably to the revenue laws extant in the several governments, and that the officers be subject to the same regulations and penalties.

Mr. Boudinot seconded the motion of Mr. Bland.

Mr. Madison objected to its introduction, as not being in order.

Colonel Bland observed, that the present object of the committee, a permanent system, would, in all probability, subject the states to the loss of two or three hundred thousand pounds.

The chairman observing that he considered the motion as not in order, it was withdrawn by Mr. Bland.

Mr. Lawrence, upon the subject of filling up the blanks, proposed twelve cents to fill that annexed to distilled spirits, Jamaica proof: he observed, that low duties would be more certainly collected, as experience had verified, that high duties held out powerful temptations to smuggling—rendered a more vigorous mode of collection necessary, which again was proportionably expensive, and eventually diminished the produce of the revenue.

Mr. Fitzsimons was in favour of 15 cents.

Mr. Madison proposed 10 cents.

Mr. Boudinot 15, which was finally voted, and 12 cents per gallon on all other spirits.

Upon the article of molasses, Mr. Lawrence proposed two cents per gallon.

Mr. Madison eight cents per gallon.

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Mr. Lawrence observed, that two cents were, in his opinion, quite high enough, considering the prime cost of that article, and its being a raw material, the basis of an extensive manufacture.

Mr. Madison continued, however, in favour of eight cents, and made some allusions to the pernicious effects resulting from the use of spiritous liquors: he reprobated the idea of a draw-back, as opening a door to various species of fraud.

Mr. Fitzsimons was also in favour of eight cents—upon similar principles.

Mr. Goodhue was totally opposed to so high a duty, which amounted to nearly fifty *per cent.*—He observed, that the importation of molasses was an important branch of commerce, and principally to the eastern states; that independent of its being a great article of manufacture, it was used by many persons as a necessary of life, being a substitute for sugar, and mixed with water, for beer: that so high a duty would operate injuriously towards a very numerous class of people; besides being attended with the most pernicious consequences to the navigation and fishery of the eastern states.

Mr. Madison observed, that if the duty was to be complained of, where molasses was used in lieu of sugar, the duty on sugar would be a counterbalance to it.

Mr. Clymer, in support of an high duty, insisted on the good policy of discouraging the use of spiritous and encouraging that of malt liquors.

Mr. Ames combated the laying so high a duty, as it was beyond the ratio that gentlemen could possibly think eligible as a general idea—as it operated as a tax upon a raw material, which proved to some of the states a very important branch of manufactures—as it would strike a mortal blow to this manufacture, prove highly injurious to the eastern fisheries and to their navigation, which was very extensively employed by this business: molasses was a mere refuse article in the islands, though valuable to us; the refuse of our fish and lumber were the great remittances for it; when imported and manufactured, from the cheapness at which it could be afforded, it forced a sale even in the Bri-

tish islands. It was the ostensible design of gentlemen to raise a revenue—this excessive duty would annihilate an extensive source of revenue: it would prove suddenly destructive to great property appropriated to that business, and effectually destroy a very important manufacture; for these reasons, and many others, he was decidedly opposed to so high a duty.

Mr. Madison proposed to amend his motion by making the duty seven cents.

Mr. Partridge, Mr. Boudinot, and Mr. Fitzsimons severally spoke upon the subject—when the vote being called for, the duty on molasses was laid at six cents *per gallon*.

On Madeira wine, thirty-three cents and one-third *per gallon*.

On all other wines, twenty cents *per gallon*.

On brown sugar, one cent *per lb.*

On loaf sugar, three cents *per lb.*

On all other sugars, one cent and one-half *per lb.*

On coffee, two cents and one-half *per lb.*

The committee then rose, the speaker resumed the chair, and the house adjourned.

Wednesday, April 16.

Mr. Tucker presented a petition from Dr. Ramsey, requesting the house to secure to him a copy-right for his publication of the history of the revolution of South Carolina. A committee was appointed to report a bill on general principles.

Mr. Sherman presented a petition from John Churchman, on the subject of longitude; which was referred to the committee just appointed on Dr. Ramsey's petition.

Mr. Tucker presented a memorial from Dr. Ramsey, against the honourable Mr. Smith, whom he attempts therein to prove unqualified for a seat in the house of representatives, inasmuch as he resided from the time he was twelve years of age, until he was twenty six, in Europe, and did not return to South Carolina, till 1783. From which he infers, that the honourable Mr. Smith has not been seven years a citizen of the United States: without which qualification, he cannot be a member of the lower house of congress.

Ordered, that this memorial be re-

ferred to the committee on elections.

The house in committee on the state of the union.

They agreed to an impost

On cocoa, of 1 cent. per lb.
On beer, ale & porter,
imported in casks, 8 cents per gal.
On ditto, in bottles, 24 cents per doz.
On tallow candles, 2 cents per lb.
On wax ditto, 6 ditto ditto.
On cheese, 4 ditto ditto.
On soap, 2 ditto ditto.
On boots, 50 dit. per pair.
On shoes, slippers and
galloshoes, 10 ditto ditto.
On unwrought steel, 56 cents per
112 lb.

This article caused a lengthy and interesting debate, it being contended on the one hand, proper to encourage the growing manufacture of that article, and opposed on the other, as a tax on agriculture and all mechanic arts, in which steel tools, &c. were necessary.

On nails, 50 cents per 112 lb.
On tarred cordage, 50 cents per ditto.
On untarred ditto, 60 cents per ditto.
On twine and pack-
thread, 1 dollar per ditto.

And after this was it agreed to add an additional impost on hemp; but some gentlemen wished to proceed no further, until they made up their minds as to the quantum; whereupon the committee rose and reported.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY April 16, 1789.

THE house in a committee on the state of the union.

The committee resumed the consideration of the resolve, for laying an impost.

Mr. Gilman moved, to have the article of hemp struck out of the enumeration.

Mr. Hartley observed, that there appeared to him an inconsistency in the proceedings on this business. The committee had just resolved, that a duty should be laid on cables and cordage, and it was now proposed to tax the principal material of that manufacture. If the object was to protect the manufactures of this country, it was absurd to discourage the importation of raw materials essential to those manufactures. It was, indeed, of importance to encourage American productions, but was it of higher

importance than ship-building? It was the opinion of many, that there would be a great demand for shipping in the states. It was the policy of all manufacturing countries to encourage the importation of raw materials. To lay a duty on hemp would be giving a fatal blow to the manufacture of cordage. He was of opinion, for these reasons, that it ought only to suffer a duty of five per cent. with the mass of articles not enumerated.

Mr. Moore thought it incumbent on the committee to encourage manufactures to a certain degree, but he had no idea of sacrificing the agricultural interest. It would be difficult to persuade a farmer, that the manufacture of every particular article, should be promoted, while he could obtain them cheaper from a foreign country. He thought, that forcing manufactures was injuring the agricultural interest. He conceived it not only the interest of the state he represented, but of every part of America, to encourage the raising of hemp. At this time, when the great staple of the southern states had fallen in value, and the planter was at a loss what course to pursue, if he were advised that the general government would encourage the raising of hemp, he would engage in it with vigour, and render essential service to the country. But if he was not encouraged, he would apply himself to some other branch, by no means so profitable. It appeared to him, that the system before the committee had it too much in view to promote certain manufactures, to the neglect of agriculture. He concluded with hoping that the article would not be struck out.

Mr. Heister observed, that the hemp of this season was already sown, so that the farmer would not profit by any encouragement this year. He did not, therefore, wish to render the duty heavy at present; it might be proper in a year or two to increase it.

Mr. White opposed the motion for striking out the article, and was rather for filling it up with a large sum. Agriculture ought, he said, to be the principal object in this country. To this point the attention of government should be directed; and as hemp was a plant congenial with the nature of our soil, and might be raised abundantly

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dantly in the interior country, it deserved encouragement. He moved that the blank be filled up with seventy-five cents.

Mr. Partridge on the other hand contended, that a tax on hemp would operate against ship-building, and consequently be detrimental to the fisheries.

Mr. Lawrence imagined that the article of hemp was not raised at present in sufficient quantities to warrant any extraordinary duties, which might in the end operate as a prohibition. If he was justly informed, cordage could now be imported, nearly as cheap as hemp. If the duty on hemp was higher than that on cordage, it would be the interest of merchants to import the latter, to the discouragement of its manufacture here.

Mr. Scott observed, that commerce and agriculture were inseparably connected, and that nothing commercial ought to be adopted which would injure agriculture, on which it so essentially depended. He disapproved of the immoderate zeal in favour of manufactures.

Mr. Boudinot moved for fifty cents.

The question on fifty cents, being put, was carried. The committee then resolved to impose ten cents per bushel on malt, six cents per bushel on barley, one dollar per hoghead on lime, and one cent per pound on nails and spikes.

The article of salt was next considered.

Mr. Burke moved to strike it out. It was a necessary of life, and a tax on it in any state, was ever considered as oppressive; but particularly in the southern states, it would be insupportable. In those states, the raising of stock was a capital object, and great importation of salt was necessary. The people in the interior parts, were obliged to transport their salt by land, three or four hundred miles, and it was there sold for seven or eight shillings per bushel.

Mr. Lawrence was of a different opinion. He thought it no argument that a duty should not be laid on salt, because it bore a high price in some particular parts of the union. He moved to fill up the blank with six cents.

Mr. Tucker said, a duty on salt

was the most oppressive tax that could be imposed. Salt being a necessary of life, its consumption was indispensable both by the rich and the poor. It operated more odiously than a poll-tax, for it fell heavier on the poor than on the rich.

Mr. Scott was for striking out the article. He was sensible it would be productive, but he considered the tax to be unjust. He feared, that if it were once imposed, it would be generally odious, and would have a tendency to shake the foundation of the people's confidence in the new government, which he believed to be the anchor of our political salvation.

Mr. Moore and Mr. Smith opposed the duty, and thought it would make a dangerous impression upon the people.

The further consideration of this article was postponed till to-morrow.

The committee rose, and the house adjourned.

FRIDAY, April 17, 1789.

THE house in a committee on the state of the union.

The article of salt recurring for consideration, Mr. Lawrence supported the propriety of laying a duty on this article by its equality, being an object of universal consumption, and from the certainty there was of its collection.

Mr. Moore was opposed to it, because he thought it unequal. He was of opinion, that the interior parts, where cattle were raised in greater abundance, paid proportionably more than the inhabitants of the sea coasts, whose productions were of another nature.

Mr. Madison observed, that if the fact, which his colleague assumed, was admitted, yet the tax did not operate unequally, because it was to be considered as only part of a system, the whole of which was intended to bear equally upon all. If the inhabitants of the interior country paid a greater proportion of the duty on salt, than those on the coast of the Atlantic; yet they paid less on every other article on which impost was laid; they consumed less wine, coffee, tea and sugar; hence, though an inequality appeared by viewing this article alone, yet it was fully equalized by the operation of the whole system.

Mr. Scott and Mr. White hoped the article would be struck out, as they looked upon it to be an odious tax, partaking too much of the nature of a capitation tax.

Mr. Fitzhums thought with Mr. Madison, that it was an equal tax, when considered as only part of a system, and he went to shew that it could not be oppressive, for, on an average, no family consumed more than five bushels, which, at six cents, would be less than one-th rd of a dollar.

The question was at length put on striking out salt, and lost, being ayes nineteen, noes twenty-one.

After this, the blank for the duty was filled up with six cents per bushel.

Manufactured tobacco, six cents per lb.

Snuff ten cents per lb.

Window-glass, and all other glass, ten *per cent. ad valorem*.

Upon all blank books, writing, printing and wrapping paper, paste-board, cabinet ware, buttons of metal, saddles, gloves of leather, hats of beaver, fur, wool, or mixture of either, military, callings of iron, slit or rolled iron; leather, tanned or tawed, &c. manufactures of leather, (except such as are otherwise rated herein) seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

Upon every coach, chariot, and other four wheel carriage, chair, solo, or other two wheel carriage, fifteen *per cent.* on the value.

Several other articles were proposed, of which the following were accepted; ready made clothes, gold, silver, and plated wares, jewellery and paste wares, which were charged seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

The committee rose, and reported, and then the house adjourned till tomorrow.

SATURDAY, April 18, 1789.

Mr. Lawrence introduced a petition from the mechanics, and manufacturers of the city of New York, praying the attention of congress to their interests—referred to a committee of the whole.

THE house in committee on the state of the union.

An impost was voted upon the following articles, viz.

On anchors, seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

Wool cards, fifty cents *pr. dozen*.
Wrought tin ware, seven and one-half *per cent. ad valorem*.

Coal, three cents, *pr. bushel*.

Every barrel salmon, seventy-five cents, *do.* mackarel, *do.* shad, quintal fish, fifty cents.

Teas imported directly from India or China, in American ships.

Bohea tea, six cents *pr. lb.*

Souchong and black *do.* ten cents.

Superior green *do.* twenty cents.

All other green *do.* twelve cents.

Teas imported from any other country, or in foreign ships from India or China.

Bohea tea, *pr. lb.* eight cents.

Souchong and black *do.* fifteen cents.

Superior green *do.* thirty cents.

All other green *do.* eighteen cents.

Some of the above articles, it was proposed by particular members, should be struck out, for reasons which had been assigned to have other articles expunged. Wool cards were objected to—but the members from the eastward satisfied the committee, that the American manufacture of that article was carried to great perfection, and there was no doubt but such a supply could be obtained, of every species of cards, made in a superior manner, as was more than adequate to the consumption of the states.

One gentleman observed, that he supposed the preference given to teas imported in American vessels, was to encourage our shipping. So far as the measure conducted to that object, he was satisfied, and he was ready to hear arguments in favour of the trade to India—the advantages of which were doubted by some persons. The trade, it was observed, was flattering to the pride of America—but it was not for revenue—it was not for necessities—not to export superfluities—but to export the specie of our country, &c.

To these remarks it was replied, that since the revolution, the trade to India had commenced; that it had been prosecuted to advantage, and was an extensive mart for a great variety of our superfluous articles—that from our local situation, we were enabled to prosecute the trade with many advantages—that it was evident, that our success had excited the jealousy of European powers, who would avail

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themselves of every circumstance to ruin our speculations to that quarter of the world—that therefore it was the duty of the national legislature, to hold out every possible encouragement, to counteract the machinations of our rivals, and prevent the ruin of the trade.

It was further observed, that cash was not the only remittance to India—that immense quantities of produce were shipped, ginseng, lumber, provisions, &c. &c.

Some objections were made to a tax on coal, but this duty was advocated from the policy of the measure, as conducing to the promotion of navigation, increase of seamen, and exploring the earth in search of additional mines—for it was highly probable, that the country abounded in that article. Adjourned.

(To be continued monthly.)

Philadelphia.

April 18. At an election held at the state house, on Tuesday, the 7th inst. for fifteen persons, to serve as aldermen for the city of Philadelphia, for the term of seven years, the following gentlemen were chosen, viz.

Samuel Miles,	Gunning Bedford,
Hillary Baker,	John Baker,
Samuel Powell,	Reynold Keen,
Wm. Colladay,	John Nixon,
Joseph Swift,	Joseph Ball,
John Barclay,	George Roberts,
Fran. Hopkinson,	John M. Nesbit,
Mat. Clarkon,	

Samuel Powell, esq. is elected mayor, and Alexander Wilcox, esq. Recorder, of the city of Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen were on Tuesday, the 14th instant, elected common council-men for this city, viz.

Benjamin Chew,	Henry Drinker,
James Pemberton,	Nath. Falconer,
George Latimer,	Jacob Schriner,
Miers Fisher,	Ed. Pennington,
John Wood,	Frederick Kuhl,
David Evans,	Isaac Wharton,
John Craig,	Thomas Morris,
James Whiteall,	Jared Ingersoll,
John Morton,	Wm. Van Phul,
John Wharton,	John Kaign,
George Meade,	Israel Whelen,
John D. Cox,	John Stille,
Andrew Tybout,	Robert Smith,
William Wells,	John Dunlap,
Thomas Bartow,	William Hall,

April 24. A letter from a gentle-

man in this city to his friend in the country, dated the 22d inst. says, “I know you are anxious to hear the particulars of our late procession on the arrival of the president general. Being myself one of the *dramatis personae*, I shall give you a short detail of it, as well as my memory will serve.

“On the 19th instant, his excellency Thomas Mifflin, esq. president of the state, the honourable Richard Peters, esq. speaker of our legislature, and the old city troop of horse, commanded by colonel Miles, proceeded as far as the line between this state and that of Delaware, under the pleasing expectation of meeting our beloved WASHINGTON, president general of the united states; we were, however, disappointed, as he did not arrive at the line till early the next morning, when we were joined by another troop from the city, commanded by captain Bingham. After paying him the tribute of military honour due to his rank and exalted character, by proper salutes and otherwise, we escorted him into Cheller, where we breakfasted, and rested perhaps a couple of hours.

“This great and worthy man, finding he could not possibly elude the parade which necessarily must attend manifestations of joy and affection, when displayed by a grateful people, to their patriot benefactor, ordered his carriages into the rear of the whole line, and mounted an elegant horse, accompanied by the venerable patriot Charles Thomson, esq. and his former aid-de-camp, the celebrated colonel Humphries; both of whom were also on horseback.

“On our way to the city, we were joined by detachments from the Chester and Philadelphia troops of horse, commanded by captains M^cDowel and Thompson, and also by a number of respectable citizens, at whose head was the worthy citizen and soldier, his excellency Arthur St. Clair, esq. governor of the western territory. Thus we proceeded to mess. Gray’s bridge, on Schuylkill; observing the strictest order and regularity during the march. But here such a scene presented itself, that even the pencil of a Raphael could not delineate.

“The bridge was highly decorated

with laurel and other evergreens, by mess. Gray, the ingenious mr. Peale, and others, and in such a style, as to display uncommon taste in these gentlemen. At each end there were erected magnificent arches, composed of laurel, emblematical of the ancient triumphal arches, used by the Romans, and on each side of the bridge, a laurel shrubbery, which seemed to challenge even nature herself, for simplicity, ease, and elegance. And as our beloved WASHINGTON passed the bridge, a lad beautifully ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by certain machinery, let drop, above the hero's head, unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. There was also a very elegant display of variegated flags on each side the bridge, as well as other places, which alternately caught the eye, and filled the spectator's soul with admiration and delight.

"But who can describe the heartfelt congratulations of more than twenty thousand free citizens, who lined every fence, field, and avenue between the bridge and city? The aged fire, the venerable matron, the blooming virgin, and the ruddy youth, were all emulous in their plaudits—nay the lisping infant did not withhold its innocent smile of praise and approbation.

"In short all classes and descriptions of citizens discovered (and they felt what they discovered) the most undisguised attachment and unbounded zeal for their dear chief, and I may add, under God, the Saviour of their country. Not all the pomp of majesty, nor even imperial dignity itself, surrounded with its usual splendor and magnificence, could equal this interesting scene.

"On approaching near the city, our illustrious chief was highly gratified with a further military display of infantry, commanded by captain James Rees, and artillery, commanded by captain Jeremiah Fisher, two active and able officers; and here I must not omit to give due praise to that worthy veteran, major Fullerton, for his zeal, activity, and good conduct on this occasion.

"These corps joined in the procession, and thousands of freemen, whose hearts burned with patriotic fire, also

fell into the ranks almost every square we marched, until the column swelled beyond credibility itself; and having conducted the man of our hearts to the city tavern, he was introduced to a very grand and plentiful banquet, which was prepared for him by the citizens. At dinner, thirteen patriotic toasts were drank. The pleasures and festivity of the day being over, they were succeeded by a handsome display of fire-works in the evening; thus I have given you a faint idea of this glorious procession, and of the universal joy which inspired every heart upon this interesting, this important occasion."

MARRIED.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Boston. Captain Epraim Wales to miss Betsey Trott.

At Lexington. Rev. Henry Wear to miss Polly Clark.

NEW JERSEY.

In Burlington. Mr. William Cox to miss Rachel Smith.

DELAWARE.

At Christiana bridge. Mr. John Hannah to mrs. Mary M'Dowell.

In Newcastle. Robert Milligan, esq, to miss Sally Jones—Mr. Charles Divin to mrs. Justis.

In Kent county. Mr. Jeremiah Beauchamp to mrs. Mary Downham.

MARYLAND.

In Baltimore. Captain Richard Johns to miss Polly Luce.

In Calvert county. Mr. Tubman Lowes to miss Betsey Bond.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

In Charleston. Rev. James Wilson to miss Mary Clark.

DIED.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In Portsmouth. Pierce Long, esq.

MASSACHUSETTS.

At Cambridge. March 26, mr. Nathaniel Kidder, aged eighty-seven; and on March 28, mrs. Deborah Kidder, his relict, aged seventy-two.

In Boston. Mrs. Mary Coffin—mr. J. Means—hon. John Browne.

At Lexington. Mrs. Lucy Clark.

At Salem. Miss Betsey Mansfield—mrs. Mary Ashby—mrs. Eunice Beckford.

In the
mez—mr.

In Hunt-
Cleve.

In New-
Talmage.

In Sale-
P

In Phi-
Telfair—
Connelly.

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18. Anec

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21. Add

22. Ansv

23. Add

NEW YORK.

In the capital. Mr. Moses Gomez—mr. Ather Myers.

NEW JERSEY.

In Hunterdon county. Mrs. Van Cleve.

In New Brunswick. Mr. John Talmage.

In Salem. Mr. Chamless Smith.

PENNSYLVANIA.

In Philadelphia. Rev. David Telfair—miss Eliza Dobel—miss Connelly.

DELAWARE.

Near Duck Creek. His excellency Thomas Collins, late governor of the state.

MARYLAND.

In Annapolis. Mrs. Margaret Henry.

At Taney Town. Mrs. Jane Gwinn.

In Baltimore. Mr. Joseph Anderson—mrs. Elizabeth Curson—mrs. Rachel L'Argeau.

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29. Circular letter from the corresponding committee of the tradesmen and manufacturers of the town of Baltimore to the mechanics and manufacturers of Philadelphia,
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32. History of the treatment of prisoners among the American Indians,
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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

CIVIS MUNDI, on duelling—The oration of the late general Varnum, for the long delay of which the editor begs leave to apologize—The Worcester Speculator—the Friend—enquiry into the causes of the present distressed America—constitution of the Philadelphia college of physicians—John Churchman's address—idea of an English school, &c. &c. shall appear in our next.

One leaf of the masonic address of dr. Tillary having been mislaid, the author is requested to send another copy.

The political state of France, recommended for insertion by L. S. is too long, and would encroach too much on matters more interesting to American readers.

The report respecting the prices of provisions, &c. is too prolix, and rather uninteresting at the present period.

Example of American eloquence—verses on general Greene—&c. are under consideration.

The address of his excellency the president of the united states to congress came too late for the present number.

There is given in the present number an additional half sheet, in order to take in the proceedings of congress, which proceedings shall be regularly continued. A half sheet will be curtailed from the next number, on account of the above-mentioned addition.